For the

Love of Learning

Background Papers for the Royal Commission on Learning

Pour

l'amour d'apprendre

Documents de base pour la Commission royale sur l'éducation

Volume II

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Compiled by

Nancy Watson
Joyce Scane
George Bedard

Text formatting by
Marie O'Keefe

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Volume II

The Royal Commission on Learning released its final report, *For the Love of Learning*, in January, 1995. Throughout the 20 months of the inquiry, the Commission had background papers prepared in areas where additional information was needed. These papers, prepared by authors external to the Commission, supplemented the work of the in-house research staff. Most of the papers were prepared under contract, but the faculty and graduate students of York University's Faculty of Education generously contributed a collection of 14 papers on diversity and equity in education. A summary of these 14 York University papers is included here.

The compiled papers are made available so that members of the education community and the public may access some of the background material that informed the Commission's work. The papers appear in the language and form in which they were submitted: they have not been edited. An abstract, presented in both languages, precedes each paper.

The volume groups the papers by topic, as follows:

- the context of education
- vision
- curriculum
- language
- equity
- assessment and accountability
- teacher education
- community
- governance and organization

The Commission expresses appreciation to all those who prepared background papers. Their work in pulling together a wealth of research and scholarly writing was of great value in the deliberations of the Commission.

Table of Contents

Equity

Assessment and Accountability

Teacher Education

Community

Governance and Organization

Towards a Comprehensive
Language Policy for Ontario:
The Language of the School
as a Second Language

David Corson

January 1994

Corson, David.

Towards a Comprehensive Language Policy for Ontario: The Language of the School as a Second Language, **January 1994.**
(Vers une politique linguistique globale pour l'Ontario : la langue d'enseignement, langue seconde), **janvier 1994.**

This report begins with a brief discussion of policy precedents for Ontario from places such as Israel, New Zealand and Australia, that are linguistically and culturally similar. It focuses, however, on the State o1f Victoria in Australia whose second language policy Corson believes to be exemplary and relevant to the Ontario setting. In Victoria, a child's first language is valued, and the Ministry of Education has stated that students not of English-speaking backgrounds are to be able to "consolidate their knowledge and understanding of their mother tongue ... and use this language in a range of situations, including the school community." On the other hand, Ontario's heritage language policy marginalizes languages other than English and French by giving them a status equivalent to optional continuing education courses, and children speaking these languages have little opportunity to develop cognitive skills in their first language. Native languages are also marginalized and Native children are disadvantaged since schooling is seldom available for them in their own languages. Deaf children have similar problems when they are integrated into a class that does not provide for them practice in signing.

Corson recommends that, consistent with parental and student wishes, that a consistent effort be made to provide first language maintenance and instruction up to the stage of middle schooling for students with limited proficiency in English or French. This is particularly critical for Native students. If possible, formal teaching in English or French should be delayed until the middle years. In any case, a child's first language should be formally recognized and highly valued in the schools. He further recommends that a policy to integrate non-English and non-French speaking students into regular classrooms should be supported where possible, but classes with ESL or ALF students should be smaller and be supported by a trained ESL/ALF teacher. Deaf children should not be routinely mainstreamed, but they will benefit from a policy that balances integration and segregation in an atmosphere where signing is highly valued.

* * * * *

Ce rapport commence par décrire brièvement les précédents dont les politiques ontariennes pourraient être inspirées, notamment dans des lieux linguistiquement et culturellement semblables comme Israël, la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Australie. L'auteur s'attache tout particulièrement à l'État de Victoria, en Australie, qui a adopté une politique sur la langue seconde qu'il considère comme étant exemplaire et pertinente pour l'Ontario. Dans l'État de Victoria, la première langue de l'élève est reconnue, et le ministère de l'Éducation a déclaré que les élèves aux antécédents non anglophones doivent pouvoir «consolider leur connaissance et leur compréhension de leur langue maternelle... et employer cette langue dans des situations diverses, y compris en milieu scolaire». Par contraste, la politique de l'Ontario en matière de langues d'origine marginalise les langues autres que l'anglais et le français en leur conférant un statut équivalent aux cours facultatifs d'éducation permanente. Les enfants qui parlent ces langues n'ont guère l'occasion d'acquérir des aptitudes cognitives dans leur première langue. Les langues autochtones sont également marginalisées et les élèves autochtones sont désavantagés puisque la scolarisation est rarement offerte dans leur propre langue. Les élèves sourds éprouvent des difficultés semblables lorsqu'ils sont intégrés dans une classe qui ne leur permet pas d'entretenir leur langage gestuel.

L'auteur recommande qu'un effort soutenu soit entrepris, conformément aux souhaits des parents et des élèves, pour entretenir et enseigner la première langue des élèves jusqu'au cycle moyen, dans le cas des élèves qui ne parlent pas couramment l'anglais ni le français. Un tel effort est particulièrement critique pour les élèves autochtones. Dans la mesure du possible, l'enseignement

structuré de l'anglais ou du français devrait être différé jusqu'au cycle moyen. En tout état de cause, la première langue de chaque élève doit être reconnue officiellement à sa juste valeur dans les écoles. L'auteur recommande en outre qu'une politique visant à intégrer les élèves non anglophones et non francophones dans les classes régulières soit soutenue dans la mesure du possible, mais que les classes d'élèves en ESL/ALF comptent un plus petit nombre d'élèves et bénéficient de l'appui d'une enseignante ou d'un enseignant formé à l'ELS/ALF. Les élèves sourds ne doivent pas être systématiquement intégrés aux classes régulières, mais ils bénéficieront d'une politique qui établit un équilibre entre l'intégration et la ségrégation, dans une atmosphère où le langage gestuel est reconnu à sa juste valeur.

This report begins with a brief discussion of policy precedents for Ontario from places that are
linguistically and culturally similar; it focuses on an Australian State whose second language policy is exemplary and also relevant to the Ontario setting. After discussing Ontario's international (heritage) language program, the report reviews the international second language research background in four main sections: The first section covers age of entry to second language programs, the length of those programs, and relevant social justice factors. The second section raises the special needs of aboriginal first language students. The third section relates approaches for teaching a second language to the question of promoting learning effectiveness. The fourth section raises the special needs of Deaf signing students. Eight recommendations emerge from the discussion. These recommendations are integrated into a comprehensive second language policy for education in Ontario.

**Towards a Comprehensive Language Policy for Ontario:
The Language of the School as a Second Language**

Some Policy Precedents

The complexity of Ontario's linguistic, social and cultural situation is matched in few other places. Perhaps the most socioculturally complex setting in the world is Israel, but Israel is no nearer to designing a comprehensive language policy than Ontario. New Zealand is another country with a complex language situation which parallels Ontario's in some respects: New Zealand's Polynesian community is similar in percentage terms and in cultural solidarity to Ontario's Franco-Ontarien community; the Maori people also face educational, cultural, and linguistic inequities that are similar to Ontario's First Nations peoples; and high levels of immigration to the country, especially from Pacific Island countries, have created a second language situation in New Zealand that needs an urgent and comprehensive policy response in education. As a result, following Australia which has had a 'National Policy on Languages' in place since 1987, New Zealand is working towards its own National Languages Policy (Ministry of Education, New Zealand, 1991).

In relation to non-dominant or unofficial languages, Australia's 'National Policy on Languages' (Lo Bianco, 1987) provides an interesting and useful precedent for Canada as a whole, since in these areas Australia's language problems are similar to Canada's: the situation of Australia's aboriginal peoples, who mainly live in remote and small communities speaking many very different languages, closely parallels the situation for aboriginal peoples in Canada; and the diversity, origin, and number of Australia's immigrants is very like Canada's. Rather than Australia as a whole, however, it is individual Australian states that offer language policy precedents more directly relevant to Ontario and its educational needs. I concentrate on one State in particular.

The State of Victoria anticipated the policy developments at national level in Australia. Its policies probably offer the country's most sophisticated response to the needs of second language candidates in schools. Ministry policy in Victoria directs schools to ensure that students of non-English speaking background are able to:

- develop their communicative competence in English through the provision of adequate instruction in English as a second language; and
- consolidate their knowledge and understanding of their mother tongue .. and use this language in a range of situations, including the school community.

This twofold provision is essential if students are to have access to all areas of

the curriculum and to know that their cultural background is respected and valued (Ministry of Education, Victoria, 1986: 10)

This policy contrasts in one major way with Ontario's current policy. The comprehensive picture of second language programs for Grades 1-9 in Ontario, as described in 'The Common Curriculum', directs Anglophone schools [Francophone schools] to offer English as a Second Language (ESL) [Actualisation Linguistique en Français (ALF)], [1] supplemented by French as a Second Language (core, extended, immersion) [Anglais/English (novice, intermediate, advanced)] and by Native as a Second Language.

It is clear that only the first requirement of the twofold provision offered in Victoria, is offered universally and as a right in Ontario. The very large number of students from aboriginal, immigrant, and refugee backgrounds who enter schools in Ontario without the language of schooling, are not treated equally in respect to the support or valuing of their languages within the regular program of the school. In other words, not all Ontario students receive the benefit that the second Victorian provision extends to students in that State:

> Students who come to school with minimal skills in English are likely to have significant skills in a language other than English. These skills should be valued by schools as a solid foundation on which to build the learning of English (as a second language). Students who enter school already competent in a language other than English should be helped to maintain and develop these valuable skills. A sound foundation in the first language makes it more likely that subsequent language(s) will be successfully acquired. Students denied this foundation are found to be severely disadvantaged: their conceptual development is interrupted; their acquisition of a second language is slowed and made incidental; and their mother tongue skills are devalued. On entering schools, students competent in a language other than English should be able to continue their conceptual development through their first language while building up linguistic and conceptual skills in English (Ministry of Education, Victoria, 1986: 10).

International (Heritage) Languages

Although international languages are part of the language provisions in Ontario, they can only be offered in the context of continuing education. To that extent they are marginalized in school systems; and they are often seen by teachers and administrators as appendices to the work of the school and even as a nuisance or distraction. As a British Study Group visiting Toronto observed:

> Far from encouraging a school to build upon the language and culture that the child brings from home, the [heritage language] programme can serve to encourage teachers to ignore [these things] altogether as they are being dealt with by other agencies (Fox et al., 1987: 20)

Indeed these programs as presently organized, usually address only the most basic and introductory demands of the more established minority groups. They do little to address the urgent need for systematic language maintenance that contemporary new arrivals in schools have, who come from many language backgrounds that were not formerly represented in Ontario. For example, one large separate school board in Toronto offers heritage language programs that are integrated into the school day; but these only extend to the languages of those large European countries that are historically Roman Catholic by religion (i.e. Italy, Spain, Portugal and Poland). [2] The many immigrant students from non-European countries who attend schools in this board, find that their languages are just not listed among the heritage language provisions. But even if they were available,

these international [heritage] language programs are not equipped to offer a sound foundation of language maintenance for students who bring the languages to school as first languages.

The Second Language Research Background

Age, Time, and Social Justice as Factors in Second Language Education

For most children it can take four to six years to acquire a second language to a level of proficiency adequate for dealing with ordinary classroom activities (Cummins & Swain, 1986). The ability that most children have to pick up everyday usages quickly and easily, can be misleading. Under ideal conditions, even very young children can express complex language functions in their second language, although less often than native speakers. What is often missing in the second language setting, is appropriate motivation and facilitation for the use of more complex language functions. Research suggests that natural language pupil-centred conversations in the classroom, linked to instructional exchanges, are probably the best means for stimulating the use of more complex language functions (Verhallen, Appel & Schoonen, 1988). In the regular Ontario classroom, and in many ESL/ALF classrooms, natural language exchanges of this kind are simply not available on a regular basis to the immigrant and refugee children who need them.

As the Victorian policy implies, there is now strong evidence to confirm that first language maintenance of some kind in the early years of schooling, is necessary for children whose first language is not maintained anywhere else but in the home. Immediate exposure on school entry to the second language [English or French] actually seems to impair academic progress and general linguistic development. Skutnabb Kangas & Toukomaa based on their studies in Sweden (Skutnabb Kangas, 1981), recommend that the child's first language be given maximum attention up to the stage of middle schooling so that skill in using it to manipulate abstractions develops and also so that it can be used to perform the cognitive operations necessary for acquiring the second language. In English-speaking countries, this is not happening on a broad scale; and students who enter second language programs at ages 5 to 7 without prior schooling in their first language, are found to be significantly behind those who start their initial education in their homelands (Collier, 1987; Ashworth, 1988). Other things being equal, a later introduction of the second language [English or French] will improve results for school age children. The best savings in time spent on teaching, occur when the formal teaching of a second language is introduced to children aged around ten to twelve years. For this to work, more intensive exposure to the second language over several years, is needed.

Skutnabb-Kangas summarizes the position well: A second language which children hear spoken all around them anyway "may well be formally introduced later, especially if this gives a low status mother tongue the chance to develop" (1981: 174). She is assuming here of course that much of the school curriculum is being regularly presented in that low status mother tongue, so that the children are not disadvantaged in other ways. This is not an assumption that can be presently made about education in Ontario. Realistically, most schools would be hard-pressed to maintain and develop the first languages of even a fraction of their minority pupils, since it is no longer customary for minority groups to congregate in single areas to the same degree as it once was; and each school as a result, may have a sprinkling of many different minority language speakers. It seems clear that, in so culturally diverse a setting, each school must decide its own policies on language matters, since the make-up of each school's cultural community and as a result its range of language-related problems, is unique and complex.

At the same time, there are many schools in Ontario, especially those serving large remote aboriginal communities and many other closely knit language minority groups, that do have a direct and clear obligation to provide first language maintenance and development. Elsewhere, the minimum that schools should provide is a context where every child's language is at least valued and given recognised status in the school and in its governance. How can the Ontario education

system structure itself best to cope fairly with the language diversity that it serves?

Again most decisions about minority languages and second language learning in a pluralist society like Ontario, need to be made and implemented at the level of the school. Indeed, devolving decision making in this way in any act of social policy, seems consistent with a modern account of social justice. To reach a policy decision does not require a conception of what the just society would be. Rather it requires as many conceptions of justice as there are distinct possible conditions of society, or subsets of society or culture. Every situation is a new setting for instigating the search for a contextually appropriate conception of justice that takes into account the unique individual and group needs of people who live in that local context. This being so, it also follows that local minority communities should be involved in deciding the direction of their children's schools, including the languages of instruction that are used and the valuing of local community languages. This is nowhere more important than in the schooling of aboriginal children.

Aboriginal First Language Students

Policies of language and cultural assimilation in schools may have contributed more to the present plight of aboriginal peoples than any other single factor. The reasons for this are clear from discussion in the previous section: aboriginal students in their early years of schooling, were routinely denied an opportunity to use and develop their first language as an intellectual and academic tool. As a result, lacking the cognitive support that would have come from an academically developed proficiency in their native language, aboriginal students only rarely succeeded in developing high level proficiency in the language of schooling [English or French] and often failed to succeed in academic pursuits as well. For many aboriginal students in Ontario, this discriminatory policy continues.

Recent studies in Ontario and elsewhere of aboriginal students who begin school with a native language as their first language, are unanimous in recommending that early vernacular language instruction and literacy, [3] with later introduction of the language of schooling, would lead to much greater school success, including greater eventual mastery of the language of schooling (Burnaby, 1987; Toohey, 1985; Whyte, 1986; Kirkness & Bowman, 1992; Corson, 1993). Comparative evaluations in English-language-only schools and in Mohawk immersion programs, conducted by researchers at McGill University, confirm that aboriginal students in first language immersion programs perform as well in their English development as aboriginal students who receive all their instruction in English (AFN, 1988).

Approximately one-third of Canada's aboriginal population report that they have an aboriginal language as their first language (Burnaby, 1987). The mainstreaming of these children in classes where the children's first language is not supported and developed, is tantamount to the more overt policies of cultural and linguistic assimilation practised almost universally not so long ago. As well as stripping children of the central aspect of their cultural identity that the aboriginal language represents, this practice most unjustly reduces the support that the first language would offer these children in learning the present languages of schooling and in mastering the formal curriculum.

Recommendations:

1.   Consistent with parental and student wishes consulted in local contexts, every policy effort should be made to provide first language maintenance and first language instruction up to the stage of middle schooling, for all those Ontario children who come to school with limited proficiency in the language of instruction.

2.   Where recommendation 1 is possible, *formal* teaching in the language of instruction [English or French], supplemented by ESL, could be deferred until the middle years of schooling. [4]

3.   Where recommendation 1 is not possible and second language instruction (ESL/ALF) is introduced to younger minority children, the children's first languages need to be formally recognised and highly valued in schools.

Approaches to Teaching a Second Language

Research on teaching and learning in second language classrooms tends to support the following points (Corson, 1990):

- learning efficiency is improved as the strength of instrumental motivation (examination success, job prospects, etc.) increases;
- motivation increases when pupils are allowed to decide for themselves when they are ready to produce second language utterances;
- high motivation is linked with pupil understanding of the educational objectives and with pupil sharing in the task of setting objectives;
- learners need input in the target language at a level that can be understood;
- learning efficiency is improved as the strength of affiliative motivation (joining a respected group) increases;
- anxiety in the learning setting is unhelpful for learning;
- anxiety is reduced by a supportive learning environment and by non-authoritarian teaching;
- learners need a high level of self-confidence and a low level of self-consciousness in relation to the learning task;
- input needs to be just ahead of the learners' stage of rule development for it to support or disconfirm rules that they already possess;
- group work may be superior to teacher-led activities in increasing coverage of content, amount of interaction or production, and accuracy of production;
- teacher-led activities may be superior in providing input that is extensive and needs a high level of accuracy;
- communicative games and information gap tasks can significantly extend interactive behaviours in the second language and this facilitates learning;
- learner proficiency correlates positively with the amount of actual language production in classrooms;
- brief repetition and rephrasing of a message by teachers in the second language assists immediate learning;
- many learners benefit when teachers draw attention to the learners' progress by interpreting thelearners' second language production and relating it explicitly to knowledge of the rules of the language;
- peers used as models of language-in-use improve learning;
- learning at more advanced levels is improved by rich interaction with adults and by a range of social contacts.

Two conclusions relevant to a province-wide policy, follow from the above list. First, many of these points support organizational changes that are already occurring in some Ontario schools: an increase in the integration of ESL students into regular classrooms where they can richly interact in natural language settings with native speakers of the second language; and a decrease in the placing of ESL students in withdrawal classes, where intrinsic motivation is often low, and where wider social contacts and peer models of proficient usage are few. Second, several of the above points suggest that negotiated interaction between a native speaker and a second language learner (i.e. teacher/pupil and pupil/pupil) provides the key opportunity for development in competence that spurs language acquisition (Swain, 1985). Later research also confirms that peer negotiation and accompanying speech adjustments play a very important part in second language acquisition

(Allwright & Bailey, 1991; Leung, 1993). At present not much of this is happening in ordinary Ontario classrooms.

Recommendations:

4,   The trend in Ontario towards integration of ESL/ALF students into regular classrooms should receive clear and committed policy support.

5.   Decisions on placement should be made according to local conditions in the school and its immediate community, and should address the specific needs of each ESL/ALF child.

6.   Whenever regular classes contain integrated ESL/ALF learners, the regular teacher should be supported by a trained ESL/ALF teacher and class sizes should be reduced proportionately to allow purposeful interaction and negotiation to take place between new users of the second language (Eng;lish/French) and experienced native speakers of that language.

The Special Needs of Deaf Signing Students

Ontario's educational policies for Deaf signing students are complicated by the existence of two sign languages that are presently used within the province's schools: American Sign Language (ASL) and La Langue des Signes Québécoise (LSQ). Students who live in mainly anglophone areas of the province use ASL; but in francophone areas about 50 students are currently learning LSQ, while others try to use ASL even to express French-related cultural ideas (St Louis, 1993).

Given the opportunity to do so, Deaf children will acquire and use a sign language whether they come from a family background where signing is the custom or not. [5] A sign language is usually learned at school, where other Deaf children and an occasional Deaf adult, serve as models. Signing is the favoured form of communication among the Ontario Deaf community itself (Mason, 1993) and provides the immediate form of communication available to Deaf children. Its acquisition supports the acquisition of literacy in an official language (Mason, 1994). Increasingly Canadian research and authoritative work elsewhere, argues against the mainstreaming of signing Deaf students in regular classrooms (Israelite et al., 1992; Mason, 1994; Branson & Miller, 1995). The signing Deaf community considers itself a distinct cultural group possessing all the solidarity and support structures that that sense of identity implies. If placed in regular classrooms, signing Deaf students can become educationally retarded, since they do not speak standard English or French and they have no opportunity to communicate in their own favoured language (signing), but instead are pressured to acquire oral ways of communicating. As Branson and Miller (1995) observe, mainstreaming reinforces the cultural and linguistic incompetence of the Deaf in the eyes of the hearing establishment, marginalising them as effectively as ever, and reinforcing their status as 'disabled' people who are in need of 'care'. As one close observer of mainstreaming confirms, "it is the most dangerous move yet against the early development of a Deaf person's character, self-confidence and basic sense of identity" (Ladd, 1991: 88). For these and other reasons, mainstreaming is described as little more than an "administrative solution with no real base in clinical practice or educational services" (Rodda, Grove & Finch, 1986: 153).

The favoured alternative to mainstreaming is to offer signing Deaf students bilingual education in ASL and English [LSQ and French] and bicultural education in separate classes or schools for the Deaf. Some expert opinion favours partial integration of some students for some of the school day, with other students highly segregated but working in the same school setting with hearing students (Mason, 1993). Other expert opinion also favours a special class for students, with special teachers; but with a separate school for the signing Deaf as the most suitable and cost-effective measure (St Louis, 1993). Schools for the Deaf in many North American settings, are moving towards using ASL as a medium of classroom instruction (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). [6]

Recommendations:

7.   Decisions on placement should be made according to local conditions and should address the specific needs of each Deaf child.

8.   In general, the practice of routinely mainstreaming Deaf signing children should end and be replaced by a policy that balances integration and segregation according to student needs and parental preferences, in contexts where ASL or LSQ signing is highly valued and where bilingual and bicultural presentation of the curriculum is provided.

A Comprehensive Second Language Policy for Education in Ontario

To guarantee key language rights suggested in this document, three policy principles seem necessary for Ontario. **These principles would apply in the same way to English-language and French-language schools:**

The *first* policy principle guarantees the right of children to be educated wherever possible in the same variety of language that is learned at home or is valued most by them.

Where the first policy principle cannot be met, the *second* principle guarantees the right of children to attend a school that shows full respect for the variety that is learned at home or that is valued most by them, including respect for its role in preserving important ethnic, traditional, social, gender, or religious values and interests.[7]

The *third* policy principle guarantees the right of children to learn to the highest level of competence possible, the standard or official languages, which are the languages of wider communication adopted by the society as a whole.

Clearly just valuing the first language does not go far enough for many children, such as the signing Deaf, aboriginal first language users, many franco-ontarians, and children generally whose first language is not fully supported in the home setting for one reason or another. **These children clearly need the support that the first policy principle offers**.

Community education of parents and wide professional development of teachers and administrators, to communicate the rationale behind this policy and the benefits that will result from it, would need to be an integral part of the implementation process if the policy is to succeed.

Endnotes

1 Note that ESL and ALF are not parallel programs. However in a recent Ministry study of board of education provisions and demands for ESL/ALF in Ontario, some confusion on this point was expressed with some boards seeing them as complementary programs. It is true that ALF programs may serve populations of recent immigrants, similar to those whose needs are met by ESL programs, "but French school boards and French sections of English boards have a unique mandate in meeting the needs of native-born students from minority French communities in Ontario, these communities being defined in ethnic rather than rigidly linguistic terms" (Cumming, Hart, Corson & Cummins, 1993: 37). Recent working policy documents from the Ministry clarify the position in helpful ways (MET, 1993a; 1993b): In outline, ALF "s'adresse aux élèves qui ont besoin de développer une compétence de base en français avant leur intégration au programme d'études ordinaire" (1993b: v). Moreover all ALF programs "permettent aux élèves d'apprendre le français ou d'améliorer leur connaissance de cette langue, dans un milieu qui respecte et apprécie leurs traditions linguistiques et culturelles" (1993b:1). ALF students are very diverse linguistically, given the high mobility of francophones, international immigration, and the language contact situation that exists between French and English in Ontario. However in general, ALF "s'adresse aux élèves <<francophones>> *qui parlent peu ou pas le français*; il leur permet d'acquérir les compétences à communiquer, à apprendre et à s'affirmer culturellement décrites" in MET, 1993a (1993b: 2).

2 Cantonese is available as an international language in this board, but only in Saturday morning provisions, not as an integrated offering.

3 This includes literacy using conventional aboriginal language scripts, where these have been established.

4 ALF provisions will be different for franco-ontarian children (see note 1 above).

5 Fewer than 10% of Deaf children have Deaf parents and learn signing in the home.

6 The Ontario Education Act was amended in July 1993 when Bill #4 authorized the use of ASL and LSQ as languages of instruction for the province (Mason, 1994).

7 There are a range of approaches and practices that schools can adopt in order to value minority languages, even when all classroom activities are conducted only in official languages. See Cummins & Danesi (1990: Chapter 6) and Corson (1990: Chapters 6, 7 & 10).

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The "Sámi Language Act" in Norway.
Implications for Users of Aboriginal Languages
in the Ontario School Systems

David Corson

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Corson, David.

***The "Sámi Language Act" in Norway. Implications for Users of Aboriginal Languages in the
Ontario School Systems**, September 1994.*
*(**La loi norvégienne sur l'emploi de la langue lapone et son application aux usagers de langues
autochtones dans les systèmes scolaires de l'Ontario**), septembre 1994.*

This report begins with an outline of the schooling system in Norway, and a review of the
Sámi Language Act. The author then comments on the implications of this act on the Sámi people,
their culture and languages, the social and political peoblems that affect them, the place of their
languages in education, and recent educational changes that flow from the *Sámi Language Act.*
The position of the Sámi people in Norway has parallels to that of the First Nations people of
Ontario.

The Sámi Language Act was designed to enable the Sámi people to safeguard and develop
their language, culture and way of life, and to give equal status to Sami and Norwegian. The provisions
of the Act give all children the right to receive instruction in Sámi or through the medium of Sámi
in all subjects. The Sámi language is taught in schools and is used as a language of instruction; two
universities offer the language as a subject as does a teachers' college. One obvious effect of the act
has been the the expansion of the Sámi-speaking (a Finnish-related language) population, and an
increased feeling of cultural identity, although the dangers of assimilation into Norwegian culture
persist. The legislation does not give similar Sámi language rights throughout the country, and there
are some objections to the legislation, even among Sámi-speakers. However, as the Sámi population
becomes more educated, they are increasingly moving away from their traditional ways of living.
In addition, the self-governing structures that they are permitted are based on Norwegian models,
and allow little room for distinctly Sámi ways and values.

Corson concludes by posing three research questions that have implications for First Na-
tions students in Ontario concerning (1) schools with high Sámi enrollments and how they can
develop a Sámi-oriented culture, curriculum, assessment procedures, approaches to governance
and community involvement; (2) the role of Sámi cultural groups in the running of schools with
high Sámi enrollment both in the official sense of the Sámi Language Act, and in the unofficial but
actual educational policies that prevail in Norway; and (3) an examination of the balance main-
tained in instructional practices for Sámi students between the study of the majority language of
Norway and the aboriginal language, and the forms of language instruction that are used to try to
produce graduates who are fully bilingual and bicultural.

* * * * *

Ce rapport commence par une esquisse du système scolaire norvégien, et une étude de la
loi sur l'emploi de la langue lapone. L'auteur commente alors les conséquences de cette loi pour le
peuple lapon, sa culture et sa langue, les problèmes sociaux et politiques qui l'affectent, la place de
ses langues dans l'éducation, et les récentes réformes de l'éducation qui en découlent. La position
du peuple lapon en Norvège est analogue à bien des égards à celle des premières nations de l'Ontario.

La loi sur l'emploi de la langue lapone était destinée à permettre au peuple lapon de
sauvegarder et de développer sa langue, sa culture et son mode de vie, et à donner un statut égal au
lapon et au norvégien. Les dispositions de la loi donnent à tout élève le droit à l'instruction en
lapon ou par le biais du lapon, dans toutes les matières. La langue lapone est enseignée dans les
écoles et sert de langue d'enseignement. Deux universités enseignent le lapon comme matière,
ainsi qu'une école d'enseignantes et d'enseignants. L'un des effets les plus frappants de la loi a été
l'expansion de la population parlant lapon (une langue apparentée au finnois), et un sentiment
accru d'identité culturelle. Toutefois, les dangers de l'assimilation dans la culture norvégienne
persistent toujours. Le droit d'utiliser la langue lapone ne s'étend pas dans tout le pays, et certaines

objections ont été élevées à l'encontre de la loi, même par certains usagers du lapon. En outre, au fur et à mesure que le niveau d'instruction du peuple lapon s'accroît, ce dernier s'éloigne de plus en plus du mode de vie traditionnel. Par ailleurs, les structures d'autonomie qui lui sont conférées sont basées sur des modèles norvégiens, et ne laissent que peu de place à ses coutumes et à ses valeurs traditionnelles.

L'auteur conclut en posant trois questions de recherche qui présentent des conséquences pour les élèves des premières nations en Ontario, et qui concernent (1) les écoles fréquentées par un nombre élevé d'élèves lapons, et la façon dont elles peuvent créer une culture, des programmes d'études, des procédures d'évaluation, des systèmes de gestion et une participation communautaire axés sur les Lapons; (2) le rôle des groupes culturels lapons dans la gestion des écoles à forte proportion d'élèves lapons, tant au sens officiel (en vertu de la loi sur l'emploi de la langue lapone), que dans le cadre des politiques d'éducation officieuses mais bien réelles qui régissent le système norvégien; et (3) une étude de l'équilibre établi dans les pratiques d'instruction des élèves lapons entre l'étude de langue de la majorité norvégienne, d'une part, et de la langue autochtone, d'autre part, ainsi que des formes d'instruction linguistique employées pour assurer, dans la mesure du possible, que les diplômées et diplômés soient pleinement bilingues et biculturels.

As an introduction to my central discussion on the impact of the Sámi Language Act on Norwegian education, this report begins with an outline of the schooling system in Norway. In reviewing the Act itself, sections cover the following topics: the Sámi culture and the Sámi languages; social and political problems that affect the Sámi; the place of the Sámi languages in education; and recent educational changes that flow from the Sámi Language Act. The report concludes by addressing the three research questions, using the results of research interviews, focus group discussions, and literature consultation. A list of key informants is included after the References.

The 'Sámi Language Act' in Norway
Implications for Users of Aboriginal Languages in the Ontario School Systems

The Norwegian Schooling System

The Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs is the authority for compulsory education, assisted by an advisory body, the Basic School Council. In practice, a high degree of responsibility for curriculum is delegated to schools and school boards, allowing a high degree of local innovation to suit local contexts. The composition of school boards reflects the relative strength of political parties at the municipal level, where most aspects of district life are governed. An elected municipal council appoints all the members of a similarly representative school board of between 7 and 35 members, depending on population. The board appoints a superintendent or education officer. Cooperation between home, school, and local community is seen as essential: the school is required to address the differing religious, political, or cultural values that children experience in their homes; and the political representativeness of the boards helps in this. Government policy now actively supports the establishment of bilingual and bicultural schools, especially in Sámi regions.

A new approach to allocating resources from the national to the local level, was introduced in Norway in 1986. Municipal district councils and county authorities now receive one lump sum from the national government to cover education, culture, health etc. Local governments then decide what proportion of these subsidies is allocated to each sector. There is no legal constraint to allocate funds proportionately. This new approach is very controversial, especially since it conflicts with the Norwegian tradition of giving the same educational opportunities to children throughout the country, regardless of sociocultural factors or region of living. Politicians outside the more affluent areas of Norway, are very sensitive to the redistribution of resources that this policy is causing.

Primary education (first to sixth grade) presently begins at seven years.[1] In more than 1000 of the 3500 basic schools in Norway, primary education is combined in the same building with lower secondary education (seventh to ninth grade). Most of these combined schools are in urban areas. It is policy in Norwegian primary schools for one teacher to take the same pupils from the first to the sixth grade, and for the children as far as possible to remain with the same class group throughout all nine years of basic education. In the lower secondary years, team teaching is common, with the same three teachers sharing the teaching and management of two classes. This reflects the marked commonality of the basic schooling offered in Norway: individual differentiation exists, but mainly within heterogeneous classes. So, for these compulsory years of schooling, there is very little organised differentiation outside the classroom, including as far as possible children who might be treated in Canada as exceptional in some way and withdrawn for some of their classes. The integration of linguistic minority children is part of this pattern and norm for Norwegian education.

The upper secondary system is presently undergoing restructuring. Under Reform '94 all young people between the ages of 16 and 19 years are to have a statutory right to three years of upper secondary education or training, regardless of qualification at entry level. Students must avail themselves of this provision within one year of completing basic education. This reform should have a positive impact on linguistic minority students, who presently drop out of upper secondary levels at a rapid rate, or fail to gain entry.

Education and the Sámi Language Act

The Sámi Culture and Languages

The Sámi are the oldest known population of Scandinavia, dating from prehistoric times. Like the Inuit and the Innu peoples in Canada, the Sámi have been known by other names given by dominant cultures: in Norway the name was 'finn'; in Sweden 'lapp'; and in Finland 'lappalainen'. Their preferred and officially accepted name is now 'Sámi'.

The largest Sámi population lives in Norway. About 25,000 of these are Sámi speakers and this figure is increasing rapidly, following the proclamation of the Sámi language laws. Most speak Northern Sámi, which is the largest of the nine Sámi languages and the basis for the standard Sámi orthography. But two other Sámi languages, Southern Sámi and Lule, are also spoken in Norway. Speakers of Lule can understand the two other languages in general, but Northern Sámi and Southern Sámi speakers cannot communicate directly with each other. [2] As a result, the training of Sámi teachers is based in three different centres: Trondheim (Southern); Bodø (Lule); and Kautokeino (Northern).

As in Canada, the ancestral people are outnumbered even in their traditional territories. Half a million people live north of the Arctic Circle in Norway, but only about 50,000 of these are Sámi. Again, in recent years, the Sámi have had to engage in major public protests to protect their environmental rights and territories. Also like some Inuit and First Nations peoples, many older Sámi in Norway are trilingual: as well as using their own language, they speak the language of their colonisers, the Norwegians, and also Finnish which had the status in Northern Scandinavia from the Middle Ages onwards, as the language of commerce. Since Finnish and Sámi are related, the Sámi find Finnish rather easy to learn and even communicated with Norwegians in the 1800s using that language.

Like French or English missionaries in parts of Canada, early missionaries insisted that the Sámi drop their own language for religious purposes and use the Finnish, which the missionaries commonly spoke. Pre-Christian religious practices have all but died out, although the pre-Christian divinities are still discussed in school. As in Canada, the early missionaries burned sacred aspects of the indigenous material culture, or sent it off to museums. They also put Sámi shamans to death. What remained of the material culture, was destroyed by a German scorched-earth policy in Finnmark in 1944, when every building in the County was systematically destroyed in expectation of a Russian attack. But the clan cultures remain very distinctive, with many customs and practices that are comparable to those found in Arctic Canada.

Also like Canada's aboriginal peoples, the Sámi have been the victims of strong assimilation policies, lasting for almost 400 years. Norwegian and other settlers in Sámi areas, rarely acquired the Sámi language and were often offended by its use. As late as the 1970s, Sámi children were forbidden from using their languages in schools, even when they knew no other. Even today, traditional folk practices (the yoik) are still banned in schools by the parents themselves in the heart of Sámi territory, because many older Sámi parents have been made to feel ashamed of some of their culture's customs.

In the minds of other Scandinavians, the language is closely associated with reindeer herding and related activities. Reindeer herding and breeding is a common but far from exclusive occupation of the Sámi, practised in the nomadic heartland of Kautokeino by about 20% of the local clan members, but only by 5% of Sámi in Norway as a whole. In the same way as Inuktitut as a language, embeds Inuit cultural practices, there are entire specialist categories of classification in the Sámi language that are linked to technical aspects of reindeer herding and craftwork (duodji). So the continuation of traditional activities like reindeer herding, small farming, duodji, and fishing, is a strong factor maintaining the Sámi language. These activities are now integrated into the Norwegian economy.

Social and Political Issues

Some social problems in Arctic Norway parallel those in Arctic Canada. Although there is relatively little substance abuse among the Sámi, partly because of a long history of prohibition enforced by conservative members of the culture themselves, unemployment at above 20%, is a leading social problem for Sámi communities. This especially affects many older people who are less well educated. As the need for traditional sources of employment, like reindeer herding, has declined, and as the culling of reindeer herds is now mandated by the government, large-scale adult retraining programs have begun. But these have had only moderate success, since they threaten the cultural interests and family livelihoods of people steeped in the traditional customs. Associated with youth unemployment, is the number of adolescent students in senior secondary schools who bring their own children to school with them. The number of unmarried mothers is unusually high, which is partly a function of the Sámi custom of having children at an early age. The birth-rate among Sámi is also well above the country's average.

Many more highly educated Sámi have graduated in recent decades. There is great demand in Norway for educated bilingual and bicultural Sámi. This creates another problem for the culture: high job turnover, especially in educational institutions. Although many more Sámi teachers-in-training are graduating each year, the choice of jobs that is available to them in bureaucracies, policy agencies, and politics, means that relatively few enter teaching or stay very long. The very high turnover of Sámi teachers is a problem. There is also a shortage of free teacher housing in some districts, which all teachers in remote areas expect to receive, so that good teachers get more attractive offers elsewhere. As a result the government gives substantial taxation incentives and low interest mortgages to teachers in the more remote areas.

In particular, young Sámi women are now the highest educated social group in Norway, and they noticeably outnumber Sámi men in senior administrative and professional positions. This unusual situation has come about largely because young Sámi men from nomadic backgrounds see the traditional occupations as more desirable for them, while young women have recognised the value of education and seized it when it became freely available in recent decades.

The maintenance of Sámi cultural identity is a central concern inside and outside the Sápmi (i.e. Sámiland). In recent decades, a revitalization of Sámi identity and culture followed the building of modern towns on the ruins of war. Sámi people now prefer to describe themselves as Sámi, and only as citizens of Norway. [3] A new image of a Sámi person has developed, integrating the modern world into the traditional culture to make the Sámi more self-confident and secure in their identity. I found the many Sámi people I met to be very relaxed about their culture and confident of their identity. But most of these were professional people.

Insights can be gained about social and behavioural problems among Canadian aboriginal young people from recent research on Sámi identity, by Kvernmo in the Sápmi. Her study indicates that the presence or absence of behavioural problems among Sámi young people and the quality of their future lives, is closely linked to the relative strength of their ethnic consciousness. Sámi identity in turn, is strengthened by a positive attitude among parents to their own Sámi identity and especially to the Sámi language. Use of the Sámi language at home, is the key factor in establishing Sámi identity.

Indeed pressure to sustain identity today is mainly coming from language, and less from traditional activities. Pan-Sámi solidarity is also an important expression of identity, as the Sámi develop more formal links across the four countries that they inhabit. The new youth radicalism in the 1990s, now emerging in many countries, is a factor promoting cultural unity and identity. Even the wearing of small items of traditional clothing at rock concerts or discotheques, or using a few Sámi words as greetings, are regarded among the young as cultural bonding actions of great importance.

Cultural identity is also sustained by the factional tension within Sámi that dates back to the nineteenth century, when two rival but cooperating factions, the conservative and the radical, began to develop. These two political factions in the community, are now found too in its government. They are a rather complex sociocultural phenomenon. The radical faction has its roots in the more economically disadvantaged Sámi who inhabit the coastal regions of Finnmark and Troms, people heavily affected by the depression in the 1930s, who became involved in radical, Marxist, and later social democratic political movements. The more conservative faction centres on the relatively affluent and more bourgeois reindeer-herding families, whose privileged economic position is guaranteed by the reindeer-herding laws that give Sámi sole control of this industry, even though it is now integrated firmly into the Norwegian national economy.

Because of these complex economic differences, these two factions may not be as great a force for stability in the Sámi community as they once were. The situation can be viewed in two ways. On the one hand, Anton Hoem warns that there is a risk of the culture unravelling politically, losing more of its distinctive values, and assimilating further into the majority culture. He believes that what is happening to the Sámi is a similar phenomenon, in microcosm, to what is happening to Norway and other small European countries in the drive towards a united Europe. On the broad cultural plane, no-one is really able to see what is happening to any way of life until it has happened. A recent survey of Sámi opinion on their cultural values, conducted by one of Anton Hoem's students, found that Sámi respondents had only a superficial explicit awareness of the important values that underlie the culture that need preserving. So the risk for the Sámi is that key values will disappear while people fail to notice their departure. On the other hand, Reidar Erk notes that this factional divide is now institutionalised in the Sámi Parliament, where it may be having a fruitful dialectical effect, with the radical wing trying to drive the culture forward politically, while the conservative wing works to sustain the culture's values. The relative absence of this dialectic among some Canadian aboriginal groups, may be significant for cultural maintenance and future revitalization.

Sámi Languages and Education

Like other varieties of Western education, Norwegian schooling has operated much in its present form for 200 years. So for the Sámi, there is an historically-shaped conservative view of what the school is, and what it can be. Even so, there is growing interest in changing schools to make them more organic to the cultural communities that they serve.

Experiments using the Sámi language in primary schools began in 1967. It is now both a medium of instruction and taught as a subject in secondary schools. The first Sámi language senior secondary school opened at Karasjok in 1969 and a vocational senior secondary school with an emphasis on Sámi traditional crafts and the 'modernization' of traditional occupations, like the breeding and marketing of reindeer, operates in Kautokeino. Two universities also offer the language as a subject, and the Teachers College at Alta offers courses in the language and culture for both Sámi and non-Sámi. In large towns like Kautokeino and Karasjok, the Sámi language is used as the everyday language by almost all Sámi. Its status and use is increasing, while the use of Norwegian by Sámi is decreasing: for them it is becoming a second language. As the status of Sámi increases following the Sámi language laws, parents in Sámi areas now choose to have their children educated in Sámi-medium rather than in Norwegian-medium classes. This occurs even when one of the parents is Norwegian or when neither parent is a Sámi first language speaker. There are Sámi language newspapers with Sámi journalists in training; Sámi museums in several cities and towns; a government funded library with the largest holding of Sámi literature in Scandinavia in Karasjok; and school textbooks in Sámi produced by the Sámi Education Council, using the three Sámi languages of Norway, eventually to cover the entire basic school curriculum (grades 1-9). This Council has been operating since 1977 (see below).

The Sámi College (Allaskuvla) in Kautokeino is an important institution offering a model that Canada might borrow from in many aboriginal settings. Beginning with teacher training in 1989, it now offers a variety of courses and programs in higher education to students drawn from the Sápmi,

which extends across Northern Scandinavia and into Russia. The College aims to be the 'source of Sámi education' based on the needs of the Sámi society, today and in the future. A requirement for permanent appointment to staff, is fluency in a Sámi language, since most classes are conducted in one or other Sámi language, and Northern Sámi is the language of administration in the college. Staff are heavily involved in research on cultural needs, language planning, and educational innovation. As well as four year programs of training for basic school teachers, there is also a three year kindergarten teacher training program.

According to staff at the Sámi College, the Sámi education system is strongest in early childhood education, but all provisions have gone ahead rapidly since the early 1980s. As in other aboriginal settings, the kindergarten years provide more flexibility and opportunity for integration of Sámi culture and values than do later years. This early childhood development intersects with the wider background of linguistic and cultural resurgence that predates the Sámi Language Act.

The Sámi Language Act

Following Norway's ratification of the ILO convention on indigenous peoples in 1990, [4] the Norwegian Parliament acted to strengthen official use of Sámi and to declare Sámi and Norwegian as equal languages with equal status. This Act, enforced from 1992, affects three areas: laws on the Sámi Parliament or Assembly [5]; courts of law themselves; and laws on education. The Act's stated purposes are to enable the Sámi to safeguard and develop their language, culture, and way of life; and to give equal status to Sámi and Norwegian. In order to oversee the language's future, a Sámi Language Council is to be created. Its members are to be appointed by the Sámi Parliament and its roles will be to advise and report on all matters affecting the language. Funding for all these ventures comes from the Norwegian government, through Ministries and new agencies like the Sámi Culture Council.

The legislation responds to Article 27 of the 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' which is interpreted as obliging nations to discriminate in favour of indigenous minorities, not just by forbidding discrimination, but by taking affirmative steps to ensure the integrity and survival of the minorities themselves.

The administrative area for the Sámi language, covers six municipalities in Finnmark and Troms, the northernmost counties of Norway. Obligations under the Act apply to any public body serving an area that includes these six districts in whole or in part. This administrative area is not identical to the area covered in the 'Primary and Lower Secondary Education Act' and there has already been much confusion about where entitlements to a Sámi-medium education begin and end. The new Act does not clear up this matter. Often parents have had to establish their geographical entitlement before the law in advance of receiving it. The new Language Act amends the former Education Act. It is interpreted as providing the following for children living in 'Sámi areas':

- all children have the right to receive instruction in Sámi or through the medium of Sámi in all subjects;
- until the seventh grade, parents have the choice on whether their children will receive instruction in or through Sámi;
- from seventh grade, the pupils are able to decide this for themselves;
- children receiving instruction in or through Sámi are exempted from instruction in one of the two forms of Norwegian (bokmål and nynorsk);
- local education councils may allow children with Sámi as their mother tongue to be taught through the language for all nine compulsory years;
- local education councils may allow children with Norwegian as their mother tongue to have Sámi as a subject.

Outside Sámi areas, the following laws apply:
- instruction in or through Sámi may be given to pupils with a Sámi background;

- if there are no fewer than three pupils in one school whose mother tongue is Sámi, they can ask to be taught through the language or have it as a subject (this requirement is likely to be changed so that even one pupil in a school can be taught through the language or have it as a subject);
- in general anyone, regardless of background, has the right to be taught Sámi;
- Sámi history and culture are included in national curriculum guidelines as topics that all children should be familiar with.

There are weaknesses in the legislation, since it does not give Sámi similar language rights throughout the country, and even in the six districts where it is at its strongest, the local authorities have a good deal of discretion in enforcing its provisions. As in many First Nations areas of Canada, the strongest resistance to the language's survival exists in some of the districts where the language is thriving. The fact that parents can withdraw their children from Sámi-medium instruction, even in Sámi districts, could weaken the language's range of influence and the quality of the language experiences of those who do learn the language. However in actual practice, this fear seems to be unwarranted, since Sámi parents in five of the six districts are giving very strong support to the language (see below). Under the Act, local authorities are entitled to make the language obligatory for all nine years of compulsory schooling, and this seems to be eliminating the practice of opting out.

In summary, as Ole Henryk Magga observes: "Norway now appears to be a pioneer in indigenous and minority affairs"; but he adds that "other minorities in Europe have much better legal protection for their languages than what the Sámi in Norway now have". This is largely because the education system "has had too little time and too few resources to equip us to meet the many challenges we are confronted with" (6). There is also a paradox in the great advances Sámi seem to be making, which is noted by Anton Hoem: The creation of the Sámi Parliament, the Education Council, and the other institutions aimed at empowering the Sámi, may instead finish off the assimilation process and the rapid induction of Sámi into European modernity which other more blatant but unsuccessful policies of assimilation were intended to produce. These new 'Sámi' institutions are modelled on Norwegian precedents and leave little room for distinctively Sámi ways and values. Also the career success of many individual Sámi, is another manifestation of this assimilation, because that success is taking these people out of their culture and away from its values, thereby perhaps weakening the culture even more by depriving it of many of its more talented individuals.

The Research Questions

1.   How are regular Norwegian schools with high Sami enrolments, organised to allow the aboriginal language and its culture to influence design of the curriculum, choice of culturally sensitive pedagogies and assessment procedures, approaches to governance, and community involvement?

The national curriculum in Norway is a very general policy document, so that every school really designs its own curriculum. This is becoming more the norm in Scandinavia as a whole, where subject syllabuses can be adjusted a lot by schools to meet the needs of Sámi. In the Sámi districts, schools opt for specially modified syllabuses, but when Sámi pupils in Oslo and elsewhere outside the six districts want Sámi, they only receive Sámi language instruction. It is difficult to change this, because just getting the Sámi language in school without a large injection of teachers and money, is difficult enough, even in big cities. All larger cities in Norway with Sámi populations, except for Oslo, provide only the Sámi language of their region (see page 5). In Oslo, as mentioned, only Northern Sámi is taught.

Although qualified teachers are available throughout the country for Sámi, only now at the Sámi College are Sámi teachers-in-training being taught using Sámi cultural values. This is happening for the first time in the world. Previously all Sámi teachers were taught 'the Norwegian way' or 'the Swedish way'. But 'the Sámi way' tries to see the world with Sámi at the centre, not at the edge. It

uses Sámi cultural ideas, values, and literature. In traditional Sámi communities, everyone learned to do everything well, not just to perform in specialised areas. Every member of the family was able to do everything, for survival and for social reasons. These traditional ways of passing on knowledge are being integrated into the modern way of teaching, to bridge the two. The Sámi way is also more holistic; there are fewer subject boundaries. Emphasis is laid on oral ways of teaching, especially based on 'living' cultural stories, as parables for teaching values, ethics, and lifestyle. So in the Sámi way there is less need to moralise, as in Norwegian schooling. Sámi College teachers-in-training are very motivated to incorporate this traditional narrative approach into their teaching, so that the Sámi children that they teach in future will not have to learn so much from books.

A developing problem is how to extend this Sámi way of education into teaching Sámi children living outside the six districts. Gradually it is hoped that the Sámi College will infiltrate its Sámi teachers, trained in this way, into the wider school system. College staff already feel the need to become activists for this method. This is especially important for the very young, because once the young come to expect this in their education, then education at later stages will gradually change to meet that expectation. Later, teachers-in-training who are graduates from schools of this kind, will themselves insist on a greater incorporation of the culture. Sámi parents have to be educated too, to see the advantages of all this for their children, so that they look to receive a more sophisticated cultural product from schooling, along with broader forms of personal development for their children, not just a bland qualification.

The Sámi Education Council approaches the problem of changing the curriculum by producing their own books in Sámi language and culture. They do this while still meeting the needs of the national curriculum and syllabuses (see below). But the growing curriculum influence of modern information technology poses another problem: how to get Sámi values represented in that technology, when those values are best manifested in face-to-face human interaction. To address this problem, the Sámi College has become the only place in Norway where students learn how to produce their own teaching materials, aids, and computer software for developing resources for classroom use. This is done in cooperation with the Sámi Education Council, who have had many years experience producing materials. Publishers also visit Kautokeino to teach students to produce their own materials, and teachers come from all over Norway to study in this course.

An innovatory form of egalitarian school administration has been trialled in many Norwegian schools for over a decade. This is also relevant to the non-hierarchical way that the Sámi have of relating to one another. Kautokeino's primary school is trialling this system: the three school leaders have only three-year contracts as administrators, and then return to teaching posts in the same school. As administrators all three are equal in status and all have an area of responsibility: one for teachers, one for children, and one for curriculum/pedagogy, with rotating responsibility for facilities and other aspects of administration. Budget allocations are decided by a policy committee, inlcuding other teachers. After three years, the arrangement seems to be working well, with few problems. Parents appreciate having more than one person to relate to, and the approach also makes use of the special skills and strengths of each person as an administrator. Over time, many staff in schools that have this form of administration, will fill leadership roles, if elected to do so by their colleagues. As a result, no-one has the unusual powers of ascribed control in the school setting that school principals conventionally have elsewhere.

2. What influences and roles do Sami cultural groups have in the running of regular schools with high Sami enrolments, both in the official sense of the Sami Language Act itself, and in the unofficial but actual educational policies that prevail in Norway?

Schools are run by the municipal board of education, but instructional control is located in the county Director of Education's office, who is a Ministry official. In every Norwegian county, this office is responsible for the enforcement of national education laws (for example, for special education, for immigrant first language maintenance, or for Sámi education). Directors meet every

month with the Minister in Oslo. Sámi rights to language instruction are protected in the curriculum guidelines, where the weekly hours of instruction at each grade level are set out, but these need only be met in sum, not in every detail. Making schools more Sámi is not a problem in theory, since the guidelines are so wide, but school practices as yet have not come even as far as the guidelines. Real power over the curriculum is presently in the Minister's hands. But proposals are going to the Sámi Parliament to give greater levels of curriculum control to the Sámi Parliament. Sámi politicians are reluctant to take this, except in partnership with the Ministry, since the need to change schools totally to reflect the culture, in the interests of cultural survival, is not apparent to many older parliamentarians who have experienced only one type of schooling in Norway, and can conceive of no other. But even so, informants believe that this may come to pass, over time.

Organizational control lies with the municipality and with each school's administrators. Every school has to have its parents' board, but these rarely work well, since Sámi parents are reluctant to take much direct control. An exceptional case, where parents have influenced policy, is in Kautokeino where the 'yoik' (Sámi folk music and dancing) was banned from the school by Sámi parents 15 years ago. This ban still continues. In Karasjok the yoik is now allowed again. Parent boards include all parents, but because schools even in the Sámi districts, seem large and forbidding places to many Sámi parents, there is widespread parental alienation.

Sámi instruction outside the six counties, is paid for by local municipalities out of special Sámi supplement funds, provided by the national government and channelled through county education offices. As this instruction is a new requirement in Norway under the Act, some municipal boards are reluctant to pay for Sámi-as-a-second-language teaching. There are no direct tuition agreements between the national government and municipal boards. Inside the six districts, every teacher must study Sámi, but for only two hours per week which does not produce much proficiency in those beginning from scratch. The Curriculum Guidelines insist that teachers must show respect for the Sámi culture, must be able to use the language, and be familiar with the way of life.

Key external functions lie with the Sámi Education Council. Firstly they have a statutory role to advise Sámi parents, both inside and outside the six districts, who write to them, or who are referred by school boards and other agencies. This advice can cover several things: language maintenance matters, including inquiries about motivating children to learn the language; what language rights the Sámi possess under law; and how to get school boards to act in recognition of the Act. The Council also advises the Ministry on Sámi affairs.

Secondly, the Sámi Education Council produces high quality texts for all levels of basic schooling (see the publication schedule of books already produced for Northern, Southern and Lule Sámi languages at Tables 3, 4 & 5 on pages 33-35). Some of these texts are similar to textbooks used in Norwegian-medium schooling, but written for Sámi taught as a first or a second language. The Council also translates some texts from the Norwegian for curriculum areas such as Maths, where direct translations of the Norwegian are sufficient. But mainly the Council's staff write new texts with Sámi cultural content to replace existing Norwegian texts that have been written for the national curriculum, sometimes at a cost of 500,000 krone ($100,000) because of the small print run. In those areas of the curriculum where no materials have so far been produced, most teaching is still in Norwegian.

Thirdly, the Council engages in corpus language planning to augment and intellectualise the Sámi vocabularies so that education can be carried on in the languages at higher levels. Word creation and borrowing goes forward as the need arises. The preferred source languages for lexical borrowings are Finnish, English and Norwegian, in that order, to preserve the original morphology of Sámi as much as possible.

Independent of the Sámi Education Council, a very high quality teen magazine is produced

monthly. This is funded by the Ministry of the Family, and by the Sámi Culture Council which began work in 1993. The magazine is distributed to all Sámi children in Norway. This gives the Sámi languages genuine status among adolescents and encourages them to use Sámi themselves. It also helps to unite the children scattered in regions away from the official Sámi districts, and encourages them to see the culture as a unity. I spoke to Sámi students in Kautokeino about this teen magazine. They appreciate it greatly and look forward to receiving it each month. Most articles are in Northern Sámi, but some are in Southern and Lule. The differences between these languages are of a similar order to the differences between many First Nations languages in Canada.

3. What balance is maintained in instructional practices for Sami students, between the study of the majority language of Norway and the aboriginal language; and what forms of language instruction are used to try to produce graduates who are fully bilingual and bicultural?

See Table 1 (page 31) for the 'Basic School Map'. This shows the numbers of Sámi-as-a-first-language and Sámi-as-a-second-language in each centre, both inside and outside the six official districts, and also the borders between the three Norwegian Sámi languages. In Oslo, only Northern Sámi is taught, while in Kautokeino primary school, all three Sámi languages are taught in heterogeneous classes because some Southern and Lule speakers have come to Kautokeino to study Sámi craft (duodji) and reindeer herding. The map also shows the five districts where Sámi is now compulsory. One district is still deciding. The map at Table 2 (page 32) shows pre-schools, basic schools, and senior secondary schools. In 1991, there were 88 schools in 35 municipalities teaching Sámi-as-a-second-language to 1400 pupils in basic schools, and 400 pupils in senior secondary schools. There are now seven pre-schools where Sámi is an optional language. In summary, after only two years since the enforcement of the Act, the language programs are reaching between 90% and 100% of Sámi children in Norway whose parents request access.

Sámi pedagogy both as-a-first-language and as-a-second-language, is still very conventional. Immersion in the language was only provided for teachers-in-training for the first time last year, based on the Welsh immersion model. Immersion for many children is difficult because of the language's low status outside the six districts. Even in one or two places within the districts where there are greater Norwegian populations, in Nordreisa for example, Sámi is still lowly regarded as a language. It is often difficult to get adolescent Sámi-as-a-second-language students to use Sámi in oral settings, as it is to get adolescent second language students anywhere to use language in motivated ways. But in Kautokeino and Karasjok, Northern Sámi is widely supported and is happily used by adolescents. This readiness to support the language, will gradually spread to adolescent Sámi outside the six districts.

Especially in Kautokeino, 'learning [the language] while doing' is fostered by reindeer-herding activities and through duodji [craft] in the curriculum, because the specialist vocabularies for these practices does not exist in Norwegian. Also for three or four days and nights at a time, children spend time with nomadic families in a kind of 'mountain school', living in lavvos [teepee-like tents] and learning the culture and language. There is a pre-school in Sámi open to all children in Kautokeino, with daily half-day attendance, paid for by the municipality.

A new methods course for teachers-in-training, is being introduced at present into the Sámi College. This uses the 'communicative method'. Eventual aims are to produce fully bilingual school graduates in the Sámi districts, and considerable bilingual proficiency among Sámi-as-a-second-language students elsewhere.

There is no staged testing or assessment across the system. Testing within schools at present, is mainly in written form and only for Sámi-as-a-second-language. More oral assessment will be used when the new communicative method is introduced.

The classroom organisation of languages in the basic school, shows an approximate balance in

the priority given to Sámi and to Norwegian. For Sámi-as-a-first-language children, all subjects are taught in Sámi until grade 9, provided that teachers are available. Norwegian language classes are provided where there are gaps in the Sámi-speaking staff.

In Sámi-as-a-second-language groups in all parts of Norway, official provision of Sámi is four hours weekly for grades 1-3; twelve hours weekly for grades 4-6; and nine hours weekly for grades 7-9. But in Kautokeino, where Sámi is the language of wider communication, fewer actual hours are provided. There are also 5-6 hours weekly of language study for all children in their first languages.

In grades 7, 8 & 9 at Kautokeino basic school, there are three classes for each grade (2 Sámi and 1 Norwegian). Elsewhere withdrawal teaching is sometimes used for classes with mixed Sámi-as-a-first and Sámi-as-a-second-language students, but no special language centres are provided in schools for reception or for regular withdrawal.

There is still some reluctance among Sámi adolescents to use Sámi orally, if they have Norwegian-as-a-first-language. There can be a similar reluctance to use English which is also introduced in the early primary years. Teachers believe that in both cases this reluctance is probably due to fear of making mistakes in public. But there is very good comprehension in both second languages. Norwegian classes in Kautokeino are getting smaller each year, as the prestige in knowing Sámi increases. In 1994 there were not enough children for a Norwegian speaking class in grade 7.

Parents in the Sámi districts are now more willing for their children to learn Sámi. This reverses an earlier tendency among parents to stigmatize the language, which is still found in some places. Nevertheless students begin to use Norwegian more as a language of play as they get older. This may be because of the influence of TV where all leisure activities are presented in Norwegian. There is no more than 50 minutes of Sámi TV fortnightly, produced in Karasjok and of moderate quality. There is no Sámi TV pitched at teenagers, and only an hour of Sámi radio daily. But the teen magazine, mentioned above, fills a very important language support role.

Kautokeino and Karasjok are the only two senior secondary schools that give full instruction through the medium of Sámi. They also provide instruction in Norwegian, in separate classes where numbers warrant or more commonly where the teachers are not proficient Sámi speakers. No more Sámi senior secondary schools are planned. Students travel to these two schools from the other Sámi districts if they prefer a Sámi-medium school. Otherwise they receive instruction in the medium of Norwegian in local senior secondary schools. At Kautokeino senior secondary school, there are 150 students aged 16-19. There are also special courses for adults. The curriculum includes the only course in the world in reindeer herding, as well as duodji (craft), general education, commercial subjects, mechanical and agricultural training. Because few teachers at this level are fluent in Sámi as yet, and because every class includes Norwegian-speaking students, most teaching is in Norwegian. This is not likely to change very much, even when school graduates all become Sámi speakers, because many of the students come from outside the six counties, especially to study duodji and reindeer herding.

Outside the Sámi districts, in twenty one senior secondary schools, Sámi is available as a subject to be studied. Assessment occurs at the end of secondary education in a written Ministry exam, in Sámi-as-a-first or as-a-second-language. This exam can pose difficulties for Sámi-as-a-second-language students, however, since several schools do not provide the necessary number of hours teaching each week. This exam is prepared by a teacher of Sámi. Some people without basic school instruction in the language, learn Sámi as a community language, in Nordreisa for example. Almost all teachers of Sámi are themselves Sámi.

In the six Sámi districts, Norwegian receives a balanced place in the curriculum. In Kautokeino, Sámi first language children begin Norwegian in grade 2, for 2 hours weekly, with 4 hours weekly in grades 3-6. At lower secondary level, most teaching is in Norwegian because there are fewer Sámi

teachers. Some children studying Sámi at secondary levels claim exemption from studying Norwegian nynorsk (the vernacular language) as a formal subject, as provided for under the Sámi Language Act.

Only about 30% of Sámi-speaking teachers at lower secondary level are formally trained. Unqualified teachers can be appointed in Norway, but only from year to year. They are paid a little less. Teacher unions see this as a necessary way to get Sámi language and culture expertise into the schools, and they reluctantly agree for the sake of the children.

Graduates in Kautokeino and Karasjok are genuinely bilingual in Norwegian and Sámi. They are the most successful bilinguals in the country. There is now greater Sámi language use among children than 15 years ago, even among children whose parents are culturally mixed. Even in mixed Norwegian/Sámi households, parents now prefer to give children Sámi. Even non-Sámi speaking parents in the Sámi districts, prefer to enrol their children in the Sámi speaking classes, as the status of Sámi has increased because of the Sámi laws. Sámi graduates outside the six districts, are much less proficient in the Sámi language, although this varies with the quality of the teachers and the teaching they receive.

Endnotes

[1] From 1997, all children will begin school at six years and consequently there will be ten years of basic education. At present six year olds attend compulsory pre-schools which are play-oriented. There are subsidised government and privately-run daycare provisions for children from their first year of life.

[2] The differences between these Sámi languages may parallel the differences between three of Ontario's Native languages: Cree, Oji-Cree, and Ojibwe. This is not to say that the Norwegian diversity is equal to the much broader range of languages in Ontario. However, Norway has less than half the population of Ontario, and far less than half of the educational resources, to spread over a very extended geographical territory.

[3] In much the same way as the Mohawk community in Québec plans to style itself as Mohawk by culture and nation, and only Canadian (or Québécois) by citizenship.

[4] Articles 27 and 28 concern rights to independent forms of education and general language rights: "governments shall recognise the right of these peoples to establish their own educational institutions and facilities, provided that such institutions meet minimum standards established by the competent authority in consultation with these peoples . . . Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong" (ILO, 1990: 16).

[5] The Parliament is a body elected by all Sámi, which has been operating since 1989. It has a growing range of powers and is intended eventually to complement the Norwegian Parliament in all matters affecting Sámi. Unlike the Assembly of First Nations in Canada, the Sámi Parliament is part of the formal and constitutional machinery of government.

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The Role of Language Maintenance and Literacy Development in Promoting Academic Achievement in a Multicultural Society

Jim Cummins

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The Role of Language Maintenance and Literacy Development in Promoting Academic Achievement
in a Multicultural Society

Cummins, Jim.

The Role of Language Maintenance and Literacy Development in Promoting Academic Achievement in a Multicultural Society, **January 1994.**
(L'entretien du langage et le développement des aptitudes de lecture et d'écriture pour favoriser la progression scolaire dans une société multiculturelle), **janvier 1994.**

In this paper, Cummins examines the policy implications of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in Ontario's schools. Although debate over language policy has been active for over twenty years since the federal policy of multiculturalism was put in place, many issues are still being disputed. Recent Ontario government initiatives require school boards to develop policies on anti-racism and ethnocultural equity, but the intersections between language-related issues and equity issues are often insufficiently specified in MET and school board policy documents related to multiculturalism and anti-racism. MET's recent policy documents often fail to consider the extent to which Ministry-mandated structures (e.g., in special education and heritage language provision) might inadvertently encourage discriminatory practices. After examining the implications of research on language and literacy development for policy and practice, the author critically assesses the adequacy of policy and practice in English as a second language programs, Heritage language programs and their relationship to mainstream education, special education provision and its consistency with MET policy on anti-racism and ethnocultural equity, provision for educating First Nations students, and bilingual education for deaf and hard-of-hearing students.

Cummins makes a number of recommendations based on language research that will support minority language students. He recommends that schools develop explicit language policies that commit all teachers, not just ESL teachers, to support students' language acquisition in the context of acquiring academic content. "The fact that about two-thirds of secondary level ESL students in Alberta fail to graduate from high school illustrates the potential consequences of failure to adapt curriculum, instruction and assessment processes to the current student population. It should be emphasized that what is being suggested here is not a reduction in standards but rather the expansion of all teachers' expertise and commitment to help students attain these standards" (p.12). Cummins further recommends that the Ontario government should pass legislation to enable school boards to offer bilingual and trilingual programs involving languages other than English and French. Heritage language instructors, he believes, could be utilized more fully in, for example, the areas of L_1 tutoring, L_1 assessment and parent liaison. In the field of Special Education, he recommends a major restructuring of special education legislation, and provision should be instituted to ensure that special education mandates are consistent with MCE anti-racist and ethnocultural equity policies. Similarly, discriminatory policies that limit First Nations control over their education should be eliminated, and bilingual education (Native language/ English or French) should be encouraged. Similar recommendations are made concerning the involvement of more deaf/hard-of-hearing professionals in the teaching and adminstration of this population.

Cummins concludes that heritage language programs are not only for the benefit of these particular communities; Ontario as a whole has a strong vested interest in capitalizing on the linguistic and cultural diversity that characterizes the province. These programs increase the cultural capital of the entire province. It is also unfortunate that our current system expends such a significant proportion of these shrinking resources on assessment that is frequently discriminatory rather than on intervention and prevention.

* * * * *

Dans ce rapport, l'auteur examine les conséquences au plan des politiques de la diversité linguistique et culturelle croissante des écoles de l'Ontario. Malgré que le débat sur la politique linguistique dure depuis plus de vingt ans, c'est-à-dire depuis la création de la politique de

multiculturalisme du gouvernement fédéral, il reste encore bien des questions en suspens. Récemment, le gouvernement de l'Ontario a pris l'initiative de demander aux conseils scolaires d'élaborer des politiques de lutte contre le racisme et d'équité ethnoculturelle; toutefois, les recoupements entre les questions linguistiques et les questions d'équité sont souvent insuffisamment explicités dans les documents du MÉFO et des conseils scolaires relatifs au multiculturalisme et à la lutte contre le racisme. Les récentes politiques du MÉFO ne tiennent pas compte, pour la plupart, du degré auquel les structures maintenues par le ministère lui-même (par exemple dans l'éducation de l'enfance en difficulté et dans l'instruction en langues d'origine) peuvent involontairement favoriser des pratiques discriminatoires. Après avoir examiné les conséquences au niveau des politiques et au niveau pratique des recherches sur le développement du langage et des aptitudes de lecture et d'écriture, l'auteur procède à une évaluation critique des politiques et des pratiques dans les domaines suivants : programmes d'anglais langue seconde, programmes de langues d'origine (notamment quant à leurs rapports avec l'éducation régulière), programmes d'éducation de l'enfance en difficulté (notamment quant à leur imbrication avec la politique du MÉFO sur la lutte contre le racisme et sur l'équité ethnoculturelle), mesures pour l'éducation des élèves des premières nations, et éducation bilingue des élèves sourds et malentendants.

L'auteur présente plusieurs recommandations visant à aider les élèves parlant des langues minoritaires, fondées sur les recherches dans le domaine du langage. Il recommande que les écoles adoptent des politiques explicites en matière de langage, qui engagent toutes les enseignantes et tous les enseignants, et non seulement les spécialistes en ESL, à soutenir l'acquisition du langage par les élèves dans le contexte de l'enseignement du contenu scolaire. «Le fait que les deux tiers environ des élèves d'ESL au niveau secondaire en Alberta n'obtiennent pas de diplôme secondaire illustre les conséquences possibles de l'inadaptation des programmes d'études, de l'instruction et des procédures d'évaluation à la composition actuelle de la population scolaire. Il faut insister sur le fait que nous ne proposons pas l'aménagement des normes, mais plutôt un accroissement de la compétence et de l'engagement de toutes les enseignantes et de tous les enseignants, en vue d'aider les élèves à parvenir aux normes établies » (p. 12). L'auteur ajoute que le gouvernement de l'Ontario devrait adopter des mesures législatives permettant aux conseils scolaires d'offrir des programmes bilingues et trilingues dans des langues autres que l'anglais et le français. Les professeurs de langues d'origine pourraient, selon lui, être davantage utilisés dans le tutorat en première langue, l'évaluation de la première langue, et la liaison avec les parents. Dans le domaine de l'éducation de l'enfance en difficulté, l'auteur recommande une restructuration approfondie de la loi en la matière, et préconise des mesures visant à assurer la conformité des programmes d'éducation de l'enfance en difficulté avec les politiques de lutte contre le racisme et d'équité ethnoculturelle du MÉFO. De la même façon, les politiques discriminatoires qui limitent le contrôle exercé par les premières nations sur leurs systèmes d'éducation doivent être éliminées, et l'éducation bilingue dans les langues autochtones d'une part, et en français ou en anglais d'autre part, doit être encouragée. Des recommandations analogues sont faites quant à la participation d'un nombre accru de professionnelles et de professionnels sourds et malentendants dans l'enseignement et l'administration pour cette population.

L'auteur conclut que les programmes de langues d'origine ne profitent pas uniquement aux communautés visées, mais que l'Ontario dans son ensemble est fortement intéressé à tirer parti de la diversité linguistique et culturelle qui le caractérise. Ces programmes font fructifier le capital culturel de toute la province. Il est par conséquent malheureux que notre système actuel consacre une proportion si importante de ses ressources décroissantes à des évaluations fréquemment discriminatoires, plutôt qu'à l'intervention et à la prévention.

The Role of Language Maintenance and Literacy Development in Promoting Academic Achievement in a Multicultural Society

Overview

This paper examines the policy implications of increasing linguistic and cultural diversity in Ontario's schools. While issues related to diversity have been the focus of policy deliberations at both Ministry and school board levels for about 20 years (subsequent to the declaration of the federal policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework in 1971), many issues remain unresolved and subject to often fractious debate. Recent Ontario government initiatives require school boards to develop policies on antiracism and ethnocultural equity (Ministry of Education, 1992; Ministry of Education and Training [both henceforth MET] 1993); yet, the intersections between language-related issues and equity issues are often insufficiently specified in MET and school board policy documents related to multiculturalism and antiracism. As documented below, there also appears to be a reluctance among policy-makers to implement structural changes that may be required to realize ethnocultural equity. For example, despite many excellent suggestions for system improvement in relation to antiracism and ethnocultural equity, the MET's (1992, 1993) recent policy documents fail to consider the extent to which Ministry-mandated structures (e.g. in special education and heritage language provision) might inadvertently encourage discriminatory practices.

In attempting to specify the implications of research on language and literacy development for policy and practice in Ontario, I will first sketch the demographic and policy contexts in which these issues are being considered. Then some general conclusions that can be drawn from the research on first and second language and literacy development will be outlined (supplemented by more detailed consideration in Appendices). Finally, I will critically assess, in light of current research, the adequacy of policy and practice in the following areas:

• English as a Second Language (ESL) programs designed to help students master the language of instruction and develop academic knowledge and skills to their maximum potential;
[Although English as a Second Language (ESL) and actualisation linguistique en francais (ALF) programs share several characteristics, there are also important differences, as outlined by Labrie (1994a). In order to avoid confusion and because ALF programs are considered in more detail by Heller (1994) and Labrie (1994b) in their reports to the Royal Commission, ALF programs will not be examined in any detail in the present report.]

• Heritage language programs and their relationship to "mainstream" educational provision;

• Special education provision and its consistency with MET policy on antiracism and ethnocultural equity;

• Provision for educating First Nations students;

• Bilingual education for deaf and hard-of-hearing students.

The Demographic Context

There have been dramatic increases in immigration to Canada in recent years. Immigrants numbered 84,302 in 1985 but have increased to a projected level of 250,000 annually from 1992 through 1996. These increases have been implemented as part of the federal government strategy to combat the combined effects of low birth rates and a rapidly ageing population.

Within the schools of major urban centres, linguistic and cultural diversity have increased substantially in recent years. For example, in several metropolitan Toronto boards, more than half the school population comes from a non-English-speaking background. Clearly, these proportions are likely to rise significantly in view of the fact that immigration levels in the 1990s will be three times greater than in the mid-1980s. In fact, it is projected that more than 300,000 children under age 15 from diverse countries will arrive in Canada between 1990 and 1995, almost double the

160,000 who arrived between 1984 and 1989. An estimated 55 percent of these children are expected to live in Ontario with 40 percent of all immigrant children living in the metropolitian Toronto area (Burke, 1992). Projections for the City of Toronto suggest that by the year 2000, 70 percent of its school population will come from an ESL backgound (Gerard, 1993). Data from the Albert Campbell Collegiate Institute in the Scarborough board dramatically illustrate the demographic shift; in 1985, English mother tongue speakers comprised 62.5% of the school population but five years later (1990) their proportion had shrunk to 39.1% (McInnis, 1993). Similarly, metropolitan Toronto's French language school system is serving an increasingly multicultural student body with wide divergence in the varieties of French that students bring to school (Heller, 1994).

Clearly, ESL students are rapidly becoming the mainstream in schools in southern Ontario. To illustrate, crisis headlines were apparent even six years ago when immigration levels were substantially lower than they are now. The Toronto Star (Sunday, July 10, 1988, B1 & B4), under the banner of headlines such as "Teachers Strapped Coping with New Flood of Immigrants" and "Generation of Illiterate Youth Predicted: Thousands of Children who Don't Speak English or French are Entering School Every Month", noted that "Large numbers of non-English-speaking children make it impossible for most schools to withdraw students from regular programs to learn English. Try it, and as one board administrator said, it would be like withdrawing three-quarters of the population. Today, Metro teachers have become, by necessity, English-as-a-second-language teachers" (Ainsworth, 1988, p. B1).]

This reality has significant implications for the education system at all levels. For example, if it takes ESL students, on average, upwards of five years to catch up academically with their English-speaking peers (as indicated in the research of Cummins 1981, Collier 1987, and Klesmer, 1993a, reviewed below), what are the implications for assessment practices both in the regular program and in special education? How can educators identify exceptionality when the learning process may be masked by language difficulties associated with the time period required to learn English? To what extent are IQ tests, almost invariably administered to students as part of the special education identification process, culturally and linguistically biased?

Similarly, MET and school board policies place a high priority on the active involvement of parents in their children's education; how is this goal to be achieved when parents may have minimal understanding of English and of the expectations of Canadian school systems?

To what extent have Faculties of Education in Ontario responded to the changing demographic realities by providing *all* new teachers with strategies to promote the learning of English and involvement of parents in a culturally-diverse context? To what extent are teachers familiar with the knowledge base that does exist and with pedagogical strategies that have proved successful in certain contexts (e.g. strategies for integrating language and content [e.g. Early, 1990])?

Issues raised by the changing demographics can be better understood when they are placed in the context of policy orientations to linguistic diversity that have characterized language planning efforts in many countries.

Orientations to Language Planning
Richard Ruiz (1988) has introduced a useful distinction between three orientations to language planning that characterize the international literature in this area. These orientations are: (a) language-as-problem, (b) language-as-right, and (c) language-as-resource. The **"language-as-problem"**]orientation focuses on the resolution of societal problems associated with language learning or linguistic diversity; provision of transitional biingual education programs in the United States or ESL programs in Canada illustrates this orientation. The **"language-as-right"** orientation is illustrated in the minority language rights guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; this orientation views freedom from discrimination on the basis of language as a basic

human right. Clearly, what constitutes discrimination on the basis of language is contentious and will vary significantly from one society to another depending on the legal and historical context.

Ruiz notes that these two orientations have been the predominant ones in the international literature: "While problem-solving has been the main activity of language planners from early on ..., rights-affirmation has gained in importance with the renewed emphasis on the protection of minority groups" (1988, p. 3).

Ruiz suggests that while problem- and rights-orientations are valid and important they are inadequate alone as a basis for language planning in linguistically diverse societies because hostility and divisiveness are often inherent in these orientations. He suggests giving greater emphasis to a **language-as-resource** orientation in which linguistic diversity is seen as a societal resource that should be nurtured for the benefit of all groups within the society. The Ontario Heritage Languages Program can be viewed as falling primarily within this orientation, although its adequacy in nurturing Canada's linguistic resources is not yet established (Cummins and Danesi, 1990).

In this paper, I will draw on all three orientations in discussing the policy implications of language development research. Like Ruiz, however, I will emphasize the language-as-resource perspective since it is more inclusive than either of the other two and, in fact, incorporates the other two in many respects. It is inclusive insofar as it highlights the interests of the entire society rather than those of particular minority groups and thus transcends the "us versus them" mentality that characterizes much of the debate in these areas. It incorporates many aspects of the other orientations since failure to solve language problems and eliminate discrimination on the basis of language can be viewed as squandering the society's human resources.

In the next section, the research basis for educational policy in linguistically-diverse societies is reviewed.

The Research Basis for Policy

The Effects of Bilingualism

During the past 20 years evidence has increasingly accumulated that linguistic, cognitive and educational advantages accrue to students who develop literacy skills in two or more languages and continue biliterate development at least through elementary school (see Corson, [1993] and Cummins and Danesi, [1990] for reviews; also Appendix 1, p. 55-58). This form of bilingualism is often termed "additive bilingualism" since a second language (L2) is added to students' repertoire of skills at no cost to the maintenance of the first language (L1). To illustrate the pattern of findings, Swain and Lapkin (1991) report that in a middle French immersion program (starting in grade 5 with 50% of instruction through French) students who had developed literacy in their heritage language performed significantly better in French academic skills than students from English-only backgrounds and students from heritage language backgrounds who had not developed literacy in that language. Literacy in the L1 was a much stronger predictor of French achievement than was coming from a Romance Language background (e.g. Italian, Romanian etc). The finding is strengthened by virtue of the fact that the students from heritage language family backgrounds had considerably lower socioeconomic status than students who came from English-speaking homes.

In short, development of literacy in two or more languages (additive bilingualism) constitutes a positive force in children's educational and personal development. An obvious implication is that all teachers should seek opportunities to encourage students to develop literacy in their home languages and to assist parents in this process. The continued ambivalence and sometimes outright hostility to heritage language promotion among many "mainstream" classroom teachers suggests that Ontario schools still have a long way to go before children's mother tongues are viewed as a resource to be cultivated rather than as a problem to be overcome.

The Role of Language Maintenance and Literacy Development in Promoting Academic Achievement
in a Multicultural Society

The Interdependence of L1 and L2 Literacy Development

One of the most consistent findings in the literature on bilingualism is that literacy skills in L1 and L2 are strongly related. In other words, L1 and L2 literacy are interdependent or manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. Thus, in French immersion programs a strong relationship is observed between literacy in French and English; students whose French literacy skills are well developed also tend to show strong development of English literacy (Cummins, 1984). In bilingual programs for minority students around the world, the same pattern of interdependence is observed (see Appendix 1, p. 58-63, for a review of recent studies).

This "interdependence principle" is fundamental to understanding why less instructional time through the majority language does not lead to academic retardation in that language. Why is it, for example, that minority francophone students (in Manitoba) instructed for 80% of the time through French perform as well in English as equivalent francophone students instructed for 80% of the time through English (Hebert et al., 1976)? Or why do students in the Prairie provinces instructed for 50% of the time through Ukrainian perform as well or better in English than students who have had all their instruction through English (see Cummins 1983; Cummins and Danesi 1990, for a review of this research)? The reason is that instruction through the minority language is not just promoting proficiency in that language; it is also promoting overall conceptual development and other forms of academic knowledge that are transferable across languages.

In short, development of conceptual and literacy skills in a minority language will tend to transfer to the majority language given sufficient exposure to that language and motivation to learn it. This transfer effect is increasingly in evidence in the results of bilingual and trilingual programs around the world (see Corson, 1993, and Cummins and Danesi, 1990, and Appendix 1 for reviews). For example, the so-called "European Schools" provide instruction through four languages to students at various stages of their school career as a way of preparing students for greater inter-cultural contact in an increasinly interdependent global society (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993).

It is ironic that such enrichment programs are not possible in Ontario because provincial legislation prohibits instruction in languages other than English and French except on a very temporary basis to help children adapt to school and acquire the language of instruction (i.e. English or French). Currently, no such transitional (or enrichment) bilingual programs exist in Ontario public schools despite the fact that they are increasingly common in the United States and many other parts of the world.

The Rapidity of L1 Loss among Minority Students

Language loss is extremely rapid among minority students born in Canada or who arrive prior to development of solid L1 literacy in their home country. This phenomenon has been documented in a study of more than one thousand families carried out by Lily Wong Fillmore (1991) in the United States and, on a much smaller scale, in a study of Portuguese-background families in Toronto (Cummins 1991; see Appendix 1 for a more detailed review of international studies). In this latter study students were followed for three years from age four to six (junior kindergarten through to the end of grade 1) and use of both Portugese and English was monitored through recordings in the home, interviews and formal assessments. The major finding was summarized as follows:

> "By the time children completed Grade 1, only 2 (out of 14) were rated as more conversationally fluent in Portuguese than in English and only three rated as equally proficient in each language, despite the fact that parents of most children spoke considerably more Portuguese than English to them at home. In other words, the acquisition of English conversational proficiency is not a problem for the vast majority of children but maintenance of the first language beyond a superficial level is a relatively rare phenomenon" (p. 95).

It is interesting to note that students who had retained their Portuguese proficiency tended to score significantly higher in English reading skills at the Grade 1 level than those whose Portuguese proficiency was minimal, a finding which is clearly consistent with the interdependence principle.

In short, given the status and power of English in the environment (e.g. in the media) and the rapidity of language loss, strong support by the school is required to enable minority students to maintain fluency and develop literacy in their home language. Educators in French language schools are well aware of this reality in view of the fragility of many students' French language skills despite 80% instructional time through French.

Length of Time Required for ESL Students to Catch up Academically

Several large-scale studies have reported that, on the average, at least five years is required for ESL students to attain grade norms in academic aspects of English proficiency (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981; Klesmer, 1993a, 1994). Other research suggests that a much shorter period of time (about two years) is usually required for immigrant students to attain peer-appropriate levels of proficiency in conversational aspects of their second language (e.g. Gonzalez, 1986; Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978).

Klesmer's study is particularly worthy of note since it was conducted recently in the North York Board of Education (whereas Cummins' 1981 data from the Toronto Board of Education dates from the late sixties). The sample of almost 300 12-year-old ESL students (most of whom were in grade 7) was representative of the ESL student population in the Board and detailed assessments of English proficiency and background data, as well as teacher ratings, were obtained. Klesmer reported that teachers considered most ESL students as average for their age in speaking, listening and reading after 24 to 35 months in Canada. In the area of writing, teachers considered ESL students to have almost reached the mean for Canadian born students after 5 or 6 years. However, the test data showed significant gaps between the ESL students and a control group of English first language students (N=43) in all areas, except non-verbal ability, even after six years length of residence. The control group performed at the level of test norms whereas the ESL students were considerably below test norms on verbal academic measures even after 6 years length of residence. Klesmer (1994) concludes that

> "there is strong evidence to suggest that the academic/linguistic development of ESL students follows a distinct pattern. It requires at least six years for ESL students to approach native English speakers' norms in a variety of areas; and it appears that, even after six years, full comparability may not be achieved" (p. 11).

There are two reasons why such major differences are found in the length of time required to attain peer-appropriate levels of conversational and academic skills. First, considerably less knowledge of language *per se* is usually required to function appropriately in interpersonal communicative situations than is required in academic situations. Contextual cues provided by the concrete situation as well as by intonation, gestures, facial expressions, etc. greatly facilitate communication of meaning in face-to-face contacts. These cues are largely absent in academic situations such as reading a text or writing an essay.

The second reason is that English first language speakers are not standing still waiting for ESL students to catch up. Every year their literacy skills are expanding and thus ESL students must catch up with a moving target. It is not surprising that this formidable task is seldom complete in one or two years. However, as Klesmer's data suggest, ESL students' facility in English conversational skills may give a misleading impression of their overall competence in the language.

The length of time required for ESL students to catch up academically suggests that students entering the school system at the secondary level are particularly at risk of dropping out. Radwanski's (1987) report on drop-outs in Ontario schools confirmed that recency of arrival was a significant factor in the rate of ESL student drop-out. Citing Toronto Board of Education data for the student cohort that started grade 9 in 1980, he concluded that

> "Among those immigrant students with a first language other than English or French who had arrived prior to 1976, the dropout rate was virtually identical to that of the cohort as a whole - about 33 per cent; among those who had arrived after 1976, however, the dropout

rate was a dramatically higher 53 per cent" (p. 83).

This pattern is confirmed by recent data from Alberta. Alberta Education (1992) estimated a drop-out rate of 61% among immigrant students in grades 8-12 based on a sample of 165 students. A more recent investigation (Watt and Roessingh, 1994) from the Calgary Board of Education, involving 232 ESL students, reports a composite drop out rate of 74% among ESL students in high school (grades 10-12). Level of English proficiency on entry to high school strongly influenced the drop out rate with 95.5% of beginners dropping out, 70% of those with intermediate levels of English on entry and 50% of those with relatively advanced levels of English on entry. Watt and Roessingh suggest that the somewhat lower drop out rate reported by Alberta Education can be accounted for by the fact that these data included grade 8 and 9 students who would likely have higher levels of English proficiency on entry to high school. The Alberta drop-out rate among ESL students is higher than that in Ontario probably as a result of the fact that there is a cut-off of age 19 for high school attendance in Alberta.

In summary, on average, ESL students will require upwards of five years to catch up academically with their English L1 peers, a pattern that suggests that immigrant students who enter Ontario schools at the secondary level are particularly at risk of dropping out. In view of the fact that ESL students are no longer an "exceptional" population but increasingly the mainstream in many urban school systems in Ontario, it seems essential that *all* teachers be actively committed to support students' learning of English and acquisition of academic content and also be knowledgeable with respect to instructional strategies for achieving these goals. These considerations entail significant implications for the ways in which Ontario educators define their roles with respect to issues of curriculum, instruction, assessment and parent involvement. They clearly also imply dramatic changes of orientation in Faculties of Education which, until recently, have based their programs on the implicit assumption that the bulk of the school population is monolingual and monocultural (as documented by Henley and Young, 1989).

Special Education and Linguistic Diversity

Bill 82 mandates that Ontario schools identify exceptional students as early as possible so that students can be provided with an education appropriate to their learning needs and abilities. Bill 82 was based on the U.S. special education legislation, PL94-142, passed in 1975, and requires categorical labelling of students identified for special educational support (e.g. categories such as "deafness", "learning disability" etc). Research conducted during the 1980s demonstrates the inadequacy of this model of special education even in monolingual contexts; in contexts characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity, the mandates are totally incompatible with an antiracist orientation.

Rueda (1989) has provided a concise summary of the "state of the art" in special education based on research since the mid-seventies. Although his analysis is directed at the U.S. context, there is no reason to expect significantly different patterns in the Canadian context in view of the fact that both systems are based on categorical labelling. Rueda concludes that:

Almost 50% of the funds available for special education services are spent on determining elibigility (i.e. the assessment, labelling and placement process);

Many tests used in special education have low reliability and validity and do not meet acceptable psychometric standards;

There is little consensus in definitions of disability groups and resulting eligibility criteria vary widely; consequently, there is significant overlap in the characteristics of students in different categories of mild disabilities;

Categorical labels and assessment data used for determining eligibility do not translate into unique or effective interventions; consequently, their utility and cost-effectiveness are highly problematic.

Rueda suggests that restructuring of the entire special education system to eliminate categorical labelling and integrate assessment and intervention processes is required to maximize the impact of shrinking educational funds. Rueda (1993) attributes the lack of change in U.S. special education practices, despite "the overwhelming criticism from within and without the field" to institutional structures (e.g. the financial rewards that flow to school boards according to how many "exceptional" students they identify) and the belief systems of educators that remain rooted in deficit assumptions in regard to learning difficulties among minority students.

When special education mandates are applied in linguistically-diverse contexts, such as Ontario's urban centres or in First Nations communities, the problems with the current model are exacerbated. U.S. research has shown that in Texas there are three times as many Latino students in the "learning disability" category as would be expected based on proportion of students in the school population (Ortiz and Yates, 1983) and when such students are referred for special education, it tends to be a one-way process; they seldom re-emerge into the mainstream and, in fact, fall further behind grade norms the longer they stay in special education (Ortiz and Yates, 1987).

Research on these issues is minimal in the Canadian context but the research that does exist is not reassuring. Cummins (1984) reported major bias in most of the verbal subtests of the Weschsler Intelligence Scale for Children - Revised (WISC-R) in an analysis of about 260 administrations of the test to students from non-English-speaking backgrounds. To illustrate, 70% of the ESL students obtained a scale score (maximum 20, mean 10) of 6 or below on the Information subtest of the WISC-R compared to 16% of the test norming sample while 34% of the ESL students obtained a score of 3 or below compared to only 2.5% of the test norming sample. Despite this obvious bias, test procedures require that these scores be entered into the computation of ESL students' "intelligence". The latest edition of this test, the WISC-3, is used in the vast majority of psychological assessments in Ontario, an increasing proportion of which are conducted with ESL students.

The research reviewed in the previous section suggests that any verbal ability test will underestimate ESL students' academic potential for at least five years after they start learning English; more specifically, Cummins' (1984) data showed that a verbal ability test administered to ESL students who had been in Canada for three years (and presumably conversationally fluent in English at that point) underestimated their academic ability by the equivalent of 15 IQ points. In view of the virtual absence of courses focusing on non-discriminatory assessment in Ontario universities and the conceptual confusion in regard to special education categories in general, there is little reason to believe that Canadian special education assessment and identification processes are consistent with MET directives in regard to antiracist education.

The irony here is that provincial regulations virtually mandate the use of standardized psychological assessments in the special education identification process at the same time that MCE antiracist policy proclaims that

> "Many standardized tests (achievement, aptitude, and psychological) are culturally biased. They are also of limited validity with students whose first language is not English. Assessments that rely heavily on the results of such tests are thus likely to do little more than swell the body of misleading and prejudicial information on minority children" (MCE, 1992, p. 17-18).

Almost 15 years ago, Samuda and Crawford (1980) reported that only a handful of Ontario school systems had any policies in regard to testing, assessment, placement and counselling minority students. Despite the escalating rhetoric in the intervening years in regard to antiracist education and discriminatory testing, little has changed in practice because the province has refused to change the special education structure which makes discriminatory assessment virtually inevitable.@foot{It

is not difficult to demonstrate the logical inevitability of bias in verbal standardized ability tests. Any IQ test standardized on a representative sample will necessarily assess only those skills and knowledge deemed "intelligent" within the majority group and will exclude any culturally-specific ways in which minority children have learned to be intelligent. Items reflective of specific minority group experiences will not be psychometrically acceptable because most students (i.e. the majority group in the representative sample) will fail these items. Thus, to the extent that their culturally-conditioned learning experiences differ from those of the majority group, minority children have less opportunity to learn the test content than majority children. In other words, for these children, the construct validity of the IQ test as a measure of previous learning automatically disappears since their previous learning experiences have not been adequately sampled (see Cummins, 1984, for a fuller discussion).

Another blatant contradiction in this area is the fact that MCE policy dictates that schools are rewarded financially according to how *ineffective* they are in preventing the genesis of learning problems. Schools that refer more students to special education receive additional resources (e.g. teachers) to assist them in addressing these students' learning needs while schools that focus on *preventing* the onset of learning problems are penalized for their effectiveness since the fewer students they refer to special education, the fewer additional resources they receive.

In short, there is no way that verbal IQ tests or any other form of norm-referenced diagnostic tool can distinguish between intrinsic "learning disabilities" and the normal process of acquiring academic skills in English as a second language (a process that usually requires upwards of five years to attain grade norms). Consequently, Ontario's special education system represents a costly, ineffective, and discriminatory structure that will always defy the best efforts of the dedicated professionals who try to make it work.

Specific Policy Implications of the Research

ESL Provision
In view of the fact that ESL students are rapidly becoming the mainstream student population in Ontario's urban centres and the length of time required for students to develop full academic skills in the language of instruction, it is clear that the job of supporting students' English (or French) acquisition can no longer be left to specialist ESL teachers. Schools must develop explicit language policies that commit all teachers (and support staff) to supporting students' language acquisiton in the context of acquiring academic content. Most ESL secondary level students will be unable to bridge the gap between themselves and their English first language peers, and graduate from high school, unless all educators in a school are knowledgeable about processes of second language acquisition and work to integrate the teaching of language and content (for example, through use of visual organizers [graphs etc]). The fact that about two-thirds of secondary level ESL students in Alberta fail to graduate from high school illustrates the potential consequences of failure to adapt curriculum, instruction and assessment processes to the current student population. It should be emphasized that what is being suggested here is not a reduction in standards but rather the expansion of all teachers' expertise and commitment to help students attain these standards.

In addition to its pedagogical implications, the pattern of development shown by ESL students has particular relevance to the current debate on standardized testing. The point is concisely made by Klesmer:

"With school boards currently embracing group testing as a tool for assessing student progress and curriculum needs, it is crucial that the developmental learning patterns of ESL students be differentiated from the learning patterns of native-born, English-speaking Canadians. To amalgamate test results of ESL students with test results of native-born English-speaking students creates a distorted statistical mean and provides a disservice to both groups. A common mean tends to dilute standards and expectations for native-born, English-speaking students, and at the same time, overstate standards and expectations for

ESL students" (p. 11).

Recommendation: Ontario schools should develop language policies that specify the roles of all teachers in supporting ESL students' acquisition of academic content. These policies should specify strategies for adapting instruction in order to integrate language and content and also specify consistent assessment (grading) policies with respect to ESL students.

Recommendation: ESL student assessment results should be considered separately, in relation to length of residence in Canada, in the interpretation of any large-scale testing of student achievement initiated by the province or individual school boards. Consideration should be given to excluding from such testing ESL students who have been in Canada for less than three years since the results will be largely meaningless for such students and potentially damaging to students' self-concept.

Recommendation: A major focus of in-service provision in urban school systems should be strategies for supporting ESL students' academic development in the mainstream classroom.

Recommendation: Faculties of Education should prepare prospective teachers for the school population that exists rather than the school population that existed 20 years ago. In other words, courses for prospective teachers in various content areas (math, science, history etc) should focus on how to teach these subjects to students whose command of the language of instruction may vary widely, rather than assuming that all students have adequate command of the language of instruction. Implementing this change will require a major re-orientation and upgrading of expertise among current faculty in Faculties of Education as well as ensuring that all newly appointed faculty are committed to becoming competent in areas related to ESL in addition to their specific area of expertise.

Recommendation: Criteria for advancement (e.g. to principal or administrator level) within Ontario's urban school systems should explicitly include experience and demonstrated success in working in culturally- and linguistically-diverse school contexts. Currently, issues related to cultural and linguistic diversity are seldom included in Principals Courses, not to mind being explicitly linked to advancement; consequently, leadership in relation to these issues is minimal in many school contexts.

International Languages Provision

While current international languages provision (i.e. the Heritage Languages Program) is valuable and appropriate for teaching the majority of community languages, the legislation is unnecessarily restrictive in several ways. In the first place, it excludes the possibility of genuine bilingual or trilingual programs involving international languages. No one disputes the fact that using a language as a medium of instruction is considerably more effective than teaching it only as a subject; yet this option is not available for international languages in Ontario. The research evidence outlined above, as well as data from the European Schools and many other international contexts, clearly show that trilingual programs are viable and enriching for students. While there is currently not a major demand from community groups for such programs in Ontario, there are compelling reasons, related to the importance of language competence in the international arena, why Ontario should do a better job in cultivating its linguistic resources than it is currently doing through the Heritage Languages Program. In short, school boards and community groups should have the option to explore innovative forms of bilingual and trilingual education that would effectively encourage language maintenance and literacy development to a much higher level than is currently the case.

One model worth exploring in this regard is the creation of specialist schools at the secondary level that focus on global or international education. The model already exists in areas such as science and technology (Marc Garneau in the East York Board) and the arts (Earl Haig in the North York Board). French immersion programs and heritage language programs at the elementary level might feed into these schools. The program would involve instruction through at least one language in addition to English and French; for example, within one school there might be several language

options available to *all* students (e.g. Greek, Italian, Chinese, Korean etc) but students would be integrated for all content instruction that would take place through English and French. In addition to developing trilingual skills and mastery of regular content areas (e.g. science, math), these schools would focus on promoting awareness of culture and language within the international context and might make use of computer networks to establish international sister class linkages for carrying out joint projects in various subject areas (e.g. see Sayers, 1991).

Recommendation: The Ontario government should pass legislation to enable school boards to offer bilingual and trilingual programs involving languages other than English and French.

A second way in which the Ontario legislation is restrictive is that it mandates that heritage languages be taught outside the "regular" school day. This give a clear message about the educational status of heritage languages (which some school boards have sought to counteract by integrating the program within an extended school day). However, it also ensures that the unique cultural and linguistic expertise that many heritage language instructors possess is not available to the mainstream program. This bifurcation between heritage language and "mainstream" provision has unfortunate consequences in the areas of pedagogy, assessment, and parent involvement.

With respect to pedagogy, it means that there is no coordination between the promotion of literacy skills in the school language and in the heritage language. Reinforcement of academic skills in two languages could be undertaken much more effectively if structures were in place to encourage communication between regular and heritage language teachers. The heritage language teacher might also work in the regular classroom to assist recently arrived students participate in instruction and provide specialized tutoring in the L1 to enable students to transfer their existing conceptual knowledge to the Canadian context.

With respect to assessment, standardized ability and achievement tests commonly used to identify children with learning problems or some other form of "exceptionality" (e.g. "giftedness"), tend to be culturally biased in the extreme and are, almost without exception, administered only in the school language. As discussed above, they constitute a prime example of institutionalized racism when used with minority children. This problem of discrimination in testing could be alleviated if schools had available trained professional or paraprofessional "community language specialists" who could assist in assessing children's level of functioning in their home language. Clearly, this assessment role could overlap with the role of heritage language teaching.

Data from the York Region Roman Catholic Separate School System suggest that considerable savings (in both human and financial terms) could be realized by instituting a first language assessment system to help differentiate between ESL/ESD and special education needs. Baccet and Bravoco (1990) and Ijaz (personal communication, April, 1991) report that in the first year of the program of L1 assessment instituted by the Board, 39 students were assessed and special education was ruled out for 67% while of the 52 students assessed in 1989/90, special education was ruled out for 75%.

A third function that such community language specialists might undertake is school-community liaison with respect to translation of materials to be sent home, interpretation at parent-teacher meetings, orientation of new students and their parents, etc. The presence on school staffs of people with knowledge of particular communities and their language represents an important resource to enable the entire school to fulfill its educational mandate.

In some school boards all three of these functions (heritage language teaching/tutoring, first language assessment, school-community liaison) are in place but are carried out by different individuals, most of whom are not based in one particular school. What I am suggesting is that these functions could be carried out much more effectively if they were integrated with each other and carried out

by the same individual located, ideally, at the local school level or available to a family of schools. Thus, the teaching of heritage languages would be seen as one aspect of the way in which the mainstream education system promotes equity and cultural understanding rather than being relegated to a marginal position outside of "regular" schooling. By the same token, "community language specialists" would carry out a legitimate and appreciated function within the mainstream educational system and have career ladders within this system.

Clearly, a specially designed graduate qualification course would be necessary to train bilingual or multilingual individuals in the specific skills required to fulfill the functions of a community language specialist. A bachelor's degree (possibly from the "home" country) would be a prerequisite but not necessarily a provincial teaching certificate.

{Some schools, such as Alexander Muir/Gladstone in the Toronto Board of Education, have begun to implement this type of provision in highly successful ways. However, this type of response to the linguistic and cultural diversity of their school community has required the school to stretch provincially-mandated heritage language and special education regulations to the limit.

Recommendation: In order to bridge the gap between current practice in the areas of student assessment and parent involvement and Ontario's Antiracist and Ethnocultural Equity policies, school boards should be given the option to utilize heritage language instructors in more flexible ways than is presently the case. In order to fulfil their mandates in a context where ESL students are the mainstream, schools require the services of professionals who are capable of communicating with students and parents. Functions such as heritage language teaching, L1 tutoring, L1 assessment, and parental liaison could be integrated such that professionals competent to fulfil these functions could be available to families of schools in most of the major languages represented in these schools. A longer term goal would be the institution of a post-graduate qualification course to train such multilingual professionals.

Special Education

As discussed above, there is overwhelming evidence that the categorical labelling system, intrinsic to Ontario's special education provision, is dysfunctional and discriminatory. In urban centres, a significant majority of students who will be assessed for possible special education placement are likely to come from culturally- and linguistically-diverse backgrounds. There is no way that a psychological assessment carried out in English can determine whether an ESL student has a "learning disability" (even if we could offer any coherent definition of that construct).

There are alternatives to the present system that are likely to achieve the goals of special education far more effectively and in a much less discriminatory way than is currently the case. Essentially, these involve deferring psychological assessment until after an extensive period of pre-referral intervention and curriculum-based assessment (including in some cases L1 assessment and intervention) has occurred. Intervention aimed at helping children master the academic skills and content with which they are encountering difficulty could be carried out by resource teachers (e.g. ESL, heritage language, reading resource teachers) who would also assess children's learning needs and progess in the context of intervention. In short, special education dollars would go where they are needed - intervention - and avoid the current unfortunate reality of too often giving culturally-diverse students a "label for life". Resources for instituting a more rational system could be found through the reduced need for psychological assessment and segregated special education placement.

Recommendation: A major restructuring of special education legislation and provision should be instituted to ensure that special education mandates are consistent with MCE antiracist and ethnocultural equity policies. This restructuring would eliminate categorical labels other than those with an obvious physical basis (e.g. visual impairment etc) as well as the financial incentives currently offered to school systems to identify "exceptional" students. Instead mechanisms should be explored

to provide funding to schools for intervention to prevent the development of learning difficulties. Assessment, in the context of intervention, would be oriented to identifying appropriate pedagogical strategies rather than to labelling and placement, as is currently the case.

First Nations Issues

The recommendations articulated above in relation to promoting bilingual and trilingual programs more actively and eliminating discriminatory practices related to special education apply with particular force to First Nations students and communities. As a result of concerted efforts by the educational system, over generations, to eradicate students' language, culture, and identity, many First Nations communities are ambivalent about strong promotion of their languages in the school system. Bureaucratic regulations in relation to teacher certification have also limited the possibility of linguistic and cultural revitalization through the educational system. Consequently, a neo-colonial education model persists, with First Nations students taught almost exclusively by non-Native teachers and subject to being labelled as "retarded" or "disabled" when they resist this form of education by mentally withdrawing from participation.

It is hardly surprising that one of the items on the WISC-R "Intelligence" test (eliminated in the more recent WISC-3) was "Who discovered America?" The "correct" answer, reflective of students' "intelligence", is Columbus. The evidence that exists on aboriginal education around the world clearly indicates that students' prospects for academic achievement are directly related to the degree of control the community has over the educational system and the extent to which educators from the community (e.g. elders) are involved in high status positions in the school (e.g. fully recognized teachers and remunerated as such) (Corson, 1993; Cummins, 1990).

Recomendation: Consultation with First Nations communities should be undertaken to explore ways in which more effective teaching of First Nations languages can be implemented (where possible through bilingual programs).

Recommendation: Discriminatory assessment practices should be eliminated and special education provision reconceptualized such that available funds go directly into intervention, carried out by First Nations educators whenever possible.

Issues Related to Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students

Ontario has recently taken a strong (albeit long overdue) leadership role in the education of deaf and hard-of-hearing students by implementing bilingual programs involving the use of American Sign Language (ASL). This provision is still controversial among some parents and educators of the deaf who are not convinced that ASL instruction will result in stronger academic development (despite the evidence from other bilingual programs and research on cognitive development among the deaf - see Israelite et al., 1992). Some parents are also fearful that they will "lose their children" to the Deaf community if they become fluent in ASL (see Cummins and Danesi, 1990). It is important that the MET carefully evaluate current ASL/English bilingual pilot projects and work to normalize this form of educational provision. There are also many issues that arise with respect to the increasing multicultural nature of the deaf student population (e.g. communication with parents who may speak little English) that require careful monitoring.

Recommendation: In consultation with parents of deaf/hard-of-hearing children and with the Deaf community, the MET should continue to evaluate current ASL pilot projects and explore ways of involving more deaf/hard-of-hearing professionals in teaching and administrating the education of deaf/hard-of-hearing students.

Conclusion

Clearly, language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource orientations overlap in many of the issues considered in this consultation paper. However, a common element in all these

issues is that Ontario as a whole has a strong vested interest in capitalizing on the linguistic and cultural diversity that characterizes the province. Heritage language programs are not just for the benefit of ethnocultural communities; if implemented effectively, they are increasing the cultural capital of the entire province. By the same token, Ontario's human resources are jeopardized when appropriate steps are not taken by schools to ensure that all ESL students have opportunities to engage in challenging academic content in the mainstream classroom. Similarly, in a time of rapidly shrinking financial resources, we all have a vested interest in maximizing the effectiveness, and cost-effectiveness, of special education provision. It is highly unfortunate that our current system expends such a significant proportion of these shrinking resources on assessment that is frequently discriminatory rather than on intervention and prevention.

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Les aspects socioculturels du rôle du langage dans les processus d'apprentissage

Monica Heller

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Heller, Monica.

Les aspects socioculturels du rôle du langage dans les processus d'apprentissage, **Janvier 1994.**

    The central argument of this paper is that the social context of language affects the way children learn. Since society is heterogeneous, members of different social groups learn different things because of the different ways of communication and interaction. However, these differences in modes of language communication are not always recognized in the school, and the language of students from non-standard speech backgrounds is not valued. The first part of the paper examines how children learn and how they interpret the world around them through communication with their family and community. The second part looks at how learning occurs in the classroom, and specifically how the use of language in the classroom can demonstrate the differences between the school's expectations on the one hand, and those of the students on the other. In the minority setting of the Franco-Ontarian community, the language often reflects the frames of reference - values, experiences, expectations and beliefs - that are brought into the school. It must also be understood that the conventions of the school are not neutral but reflect their own values and beliefs. Since children learn better in situations that have relevance to them, it is important for Franco-Ontarian educators to accommodate the language and customs of the community in the classroom setting and not reject them as second class. The school must become a partner to minority as well as to majority groups.

* * * * *

    La thèse centrale est la suivante: le contexte social du langage influe sur le mode d'apprentissage des enfants. Comme la société est hétérogène, les membres des différents groupes sociaux apprennent des choses différentes étant donné les nombreux moyens de communication et d'interaction. Cependant, ces différences en termes de modes de communication langagière ne sont pas toujours reconnues par les écoles et la langue des étudiants provenant de milieux linguistiques non standard n'est pas valorisée. La première partie du document examine la façon dont les étudiantes et étudiants apprennent et interprètent le monde qui les entoure par le biais de la communication avec leur famille et communauté. La deuxième partie traite de la façon dont l'apprentissage se fait dans la salle de classe et plus précisément dans quelle mesure l'utilisation du langage dans la salle de classe peut révéler le clivage qui existe entre d'une part les attentes de l'école et d'autre part celles des élèves. Dans le contexte minoritaire de la communauté franco-ontarienne, le langage reflète souvent les cadres de référence (valeurs, pratiques, attentes et croyances) qui sont amenés à l'école. Il faut aussi reconnaître que les conventions de l'école ne sont pas neutres, mais reflètent bien des valeurs et croyances spécifiques. Comme les enfants apprennent mieux dans des situations qu'ils comprennent, il faut absolument que les éducatrices et éducateurs franco-ontariens intègrent la langue et les coutumes de la communauté dans la salle de classe et ne les dévalorisent pas. L'école doit collaborer tant avec les groupes minoritaires que majoritaires.

Introduction

Au début des années 70, l'anthropologue américaine Susan Philips a séjourné sur la réserve autochtone de Warm Springs dans l'Orégon (Philips 1972, 1983). Elle a rendu visite à l'école de la réserve, école tenue de suivre les programmes des écoles publiques de l'état, et dont le personnel enseignant était à 100% composé d'individus de l'extérieur de la réserve. Elle a vite remarqué des tensions en salle de classe. Le personnel enseignant était frustré parce qu'il avait l'impression que les élèves ne voulaient pas participer aux cours. Pour leur part, les élèves demeuraient silencieux et distants.

Philips est donc allée examiner les processus d'apprentissage dans d'autres contextes, comme à la maison. Là elle a noté que les jeunes apprenaient en observant les adultes. Puis ils pratiquaient seuls, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient convaincus d'avoir maîtrisé ce qu'ils avaient à apprendre. Ensuite ils faisaient preuve de leur apprentissage en participant à l'activité. Par exemple, les jeunes pouvaient regarder leurs parents passer l'aspirateur. Un jour, lorsque les parents sont ailleurs, ils prennent l'aspirateur et s'essaient avec dans la maison. Finalement, ils vont passer l'aspirateur eux-mêmes le jour du ménage à la maison, participant activement en collaboration avec les parents.

Philips a noté un contraste énorme entre les conditions d'apprentissage et de performance des acquis à l'école et ailleurs dans la communauté. A l'école, le personnel enseignant fait un enseignement explicite, et vérifie le degré de compréhension des élèves en leur posant des questions individuellement. A la maison, l'enseignement est implicite et intégré au cours de la vie quotidienne en communauté. Ce sont les jeunes qui se chargent de l'apprentissage, eux qui décident du moment de performance en publique, et qui s'intègrent implicitement dans le cours naturel d'une activité. Ce n'était donc pas surprenant qu'ils résistent à l'organisation sociale de la salle de classe ; ils avaient l'impression d'avoir à apprendre des formes de savoir décontextualisées et abstraites, non intégrées au déroulement de la vie quotidienne, et en plus on leur demandait de faire preuve d'ignorance devant tout le monde. Malheureusement, la situation a entraîné non seulement l'aliénation des jeunes mais aussi la sous-évaluation de leurs capacités, puisque les seules occasions pour faire preuve d'acquisition des connaissances, c'est-à-dire les seules bases d'évaluation, se trouvaient dans des situations dans lesquelles les jeunes ne pouvaient justement pas fournir les preuves demandées.

Ceci est un exemple des aspects socioculturels de l'apprentissage et leur impact sur l'accès des jeunes aux connaissances et savoirs du milieu scolaire. Mais on n'a pas besoin de chercher loin pour en trouver d'autres ; il existe suffisamment de différences culturelles au sein de la société ontarienne. Prenons l'exemple de la jeune fille de milieu ouvrier franco-ontarien qui fréquente une école de langue française. Son professeur demande une rédaction qui porte sur les activités de la fin de semaine. Elle raconte sa sortie pour aller voir les vues. Son professeur lui rend sa copie où le mot "vues" est encerclé ; il aurait fallu écrire "film". Une fois de plus, elle reçoit le message qu'elle parle et écrit mal, une opinion qu'elle finit par partager. Elle devient découragée, parce que finalement on écoute rarement le contenu de ses idées, et elle se fait corriger constamment. En plus, si elle commence à adopter le langage de l'école elle rencontre deux problèmes : ses amis et sa famille la traitent de snob, et elle n'est jamais certaine si elle maîtrise comme il faut le langage valorisé à l'école. Elle entreprend un voyage risqué au bout duquel elle n'est pas assurée de réussir.

Ces deux exemples démontrent que les façons d'apprendre, les choses qu'on est intéressé à apprendre et les façons d'exprimer son apprentissage peuvent varier d'un groupe social à un autre. Cependant, seulement certaines formes d'apprentissage etd'expression sont valorisées dans le milieu scolaire.

L'objectif de ce texte est de faire un survol des recherches portant sur les aspects socioculturels du rôle du langage dans les processus d'apprentissage. Le texte est axé sur un message central : L'apprentissage se fait par le biais de la communication dans l'interaction sociale. Puisque la société est hétérogène, les membres des différents groupes dans la société apprennent différentes choses par le

biais de différentes formes de communication et d'interaction. Mais ces différences ne sont souvent pas reconnues en milieu scolaire, ou bien servent de base à des jugements négatifs relatifs à tout comportement qui n'y est pas valorisé. Les élèves provenant de groupes qui ne participent pas à la définition des savoirs, connaissances et formes de communication valorisés à l'école sont donc souvent défavorisé(e)s en ce qui concerne leurs chances d'accès à ce que l'école peut leur offrir.

La première partie de ce texte portera sur l'apprentissage de façon générale et examinera comment les individus apprennent à comprendre et à construire le monde autour d'eux dans un processus de communication avec les autres membres de leur collectivité. Elle définira donc l'apprentissage comme un processus socioculturel, imbriqué dans les conventions culturelles de l'interaction d'une collectivité et dans ce qui compte pour les membres de cette collectivité comme des choses importantes à savoir (ou à savoir être, savoir faire, etc.).

La deuxième partie traitera de l'apprentissage en salle de classe, et spécifiquement de comment l'emploi du langage en salle de classe révèle les attentes de l'école (comme institution sociale) d'une part, et, d'autre part, celles des élèves.

La dernière partie touchera la question de l'impact des différences sociales pour ce qui est du fonctionnement efficace et équitable de la salle de classe. Les conventions culturelles et les formes de savoir considérées légitimes en salle de classe ne sont pas distribuées équitablement dans la société, et ce n'est pas tout le monde qui a des chances égales de définir ce qui comptera comme important en milieu scolaire (Bourdieu 1977). Ces inéquités de fait influencent la communication en salle de classe, avec des conséquences pour les chances égales d'accès au savoir qui y est construite et transmise.

2. L'apprentissage et l'interaction sociale

Les sous-disciplines de la psychologie sociale, de la sociolinguistique, de la pragmatique et des sciences cognitives s'accordent de plus en plus pour considérer l'apprentissage comme un processus qui découle de l'interaction sociale. Comme individus, notre expérience sert de base à l'apprentissage, mais c'est dans l'interaction que nous apprenons comment accorder un sens à cette expérience.

En tant que membres d'un groupe social nous partageons donc non seulement des expériences communes mais aussi un cadre d'interprétation de ces expériences, c'est-à-dire des systèmes de catégories qui nous permettent de reconnaître chaque nouvelle expérience en termes d'expérience antérieure (la nôtre ou celle des membres du groupe) et de savoir comment l'interpréter et comment agir en conséquence. Ces cadres deviennent inconscients et routiniers -- nécessairement, puisque s'il fallait s'interroger à chaque moment sur ce qui se passe et comment agir on n'accomplirait pas grand'chose dans notre vie quotidienne.

La communication occupe une place privilégiée dans ce processus, puisque c'est à travers le verbal et le non verbal que nous construisons notre monde. En même temps, notre emploi de la langue reflète nos attentes, nos présupposés, nos cadres d'interprétation.

En tant qu'enfant, c'est à travers nos interactions que l'on apprend ce qui est important à apprendre (le contenu) et comment on peut l'apprendre (l'approche). C'est également à travers nos interactions que l'on démontre ce qu'on a appris (la preuve). Mais, comme les exemples cités au début du texte ont illustré, ces choses peuvent varier d'un groupe à l'autre dans la société.

Je vais fournir un exemple pour chacun de ces trois éléments du processus d'apprentissage : le contenu, l'approche et la preuve. Lorsqu'un groupe d'élèves d'origine africaine est arrivée dans une école secondaire de langue française en Ontario ils ont rencontré plusieurs différences. Premièrement, ils se sont sentis frustrés, parce que les choses qu'ils savaient ne se trouvaient pas toujours dans le programme scolaire. Ils disaient souvent que tout ce qu'ils savaient sur l'Afrique, par exemple, était marginalisé (dans les cours de littérature, de géographie ou d'histoire) et même parfois leurs connaissances

en sciences et en français n'étaient pas reconnues. L'école considérait que ces élèves avaient du "retard", qu'il y avait un "rattrapage" à faire. Les élèves considéraient que sur plusieurs plans ils étaient plus avancés que leurs homologues franco-ontariens, mais qu'on ne leur accordait pas la reconnaissance de ces acquis. Ce qui avait toujours été important pour eux ne l'était plus dans le contexte de l'école ontarienne.

En même temps, ces élèves étaient habitués à certaines façons de fonctionner, certaines habitudes de lecture, une structure explicite aux cours, un certain degré d'apprentissage par coeur. Ils se sentaient perdus dans l'école ontarienne, où l'on demande souvent aux élèves de travailler à leur rythme, de fournir des idées et des opinions, de travailler seul ou en groupe, et ainsi de suite. L'accent mis sur ce que l'individu apporte à son apprentissage allait à l'encontre des structures explicites et collectives de l'école qu'ils avaient connues auparavant. Ils avaient le sentiment d'avoir perdu les balises, ce qui les empêchait de comprendre le contenu de ce que l'école voulait qu'ils apprennent. Et même lorsqu'ils ont compris la raison d'être des approches ontariennes, ils n'étaient pas toujours certains d'être d'accord avec cette approche.

Finalement, ces élèves étaient souvent habitués à faire preuve de leurs connaissances individuellement ou en groupe dans le cadre d'un performance publique. Ceci allait en leur faveur, puisque l'école demande en fait assez souvent ce genre de performance (par exemple, l'exposé oral). Tandis que plusieurs élèves franco-ontariens sont gênés et mal à l'aise dans cette situation, les élèves africains peuvent briller. Par contre, cette situation amène des contradictions intéressantes vu le peu de valeur accordée aux autres aspects de leur savoir.

Pour apprendre en milieu scolaire il faut être d'accord sur l'importance de ce que l'on apprend, il faut reconnaître le contenu (c'est-à-dire il faut être familier avec la façon dont on parle du contenu) et il faut faire preuve d'avoir fait un apprentissage dans une forme que le personnel enseignant peut à son tour reconnaître. A travers la communication on indique ce qui est important et pourquoi, et on comprend ou non, on accepte ou on résiste. A travers la communication on arrive à cerner les éléments de ce contenu et à les assimiler à ses cadres d'interprétation (ou les rejeter). A travers la communication on montre aux autres ce qu'on a appris.

Dans la prochaine partie je m'attarderai davantage sur l'apprentissage en salle de classe. L'emploi du langage en salle de classe révèle la valeur accordée par l'école à des contenus et formes d'apprentissage et d'évaluation spécifique. La salle de classe devient donc un lieu d'interaction entre les systèmes de connaissances et de pratiques valorisés par l'école comme institution sociale et ceux que les élèves apportent à partir de leur expérience sociale et culturelle.

3. L'emploi du langage en salle de classe

La communication en salle de classe permet la construction de savoirs de deux façons principales. Premièrement, elle sert à établir les cadres d'interprétation qu'on doit utiliser pour comprendre ce qui se passe en salle de classe. Deuxièmement, elle sert à la construction des messages dont le savoir est composé.

La première fonction, que Gumperz (1982) appelle la *contextualisation*, prend plusieurs formes et s'attache à plusieurs éléments différents de la vie quotidienne en salle de classe. Ces éléments comprennent l'organisation spatiale et temporelle des activités, les structures de participation, et la structure discursive. Je fournirai des exemples pour chacun de ces éléments:

1) *L'organisation spatiale et temporelle*. Dans une classe de 8e année dans une école franco-ontarienne, un enseignant demande à un élève de parler français au lieu de parler anglais. L'élève lui répond, "It's not nine o'clock yet, Monsieur". Les cours commencent à 9h lorsque la cloche sonne; pour les élèves le temps avant 9h est leur temps, il s'agit d'une période où ils définissent les activités, où ils ont l'autorité.

Une façon de distinguer leur temps du temps de l'école est par le biais du choix de langue, et accepter la langue de l'école avant 9h voudrait donc dire céder le contrôle des activités aux autorités scolaires durant ce temps-là. Cette organisation temporelle est donc liée à l'identification des personnes qui peuvent décider de ce qui va se passer et de comment évaluer les autres.

Dans une classe de 10e année dans une autre école franco-ontarienne, une enseignante veut favoriser les discussions parmi les élèves. La première chose qu'elle fait c'est de changer la disposition des chaises et des tables, pour former un grand "U" au lieu de rangs d'oignons. L'organisation spatiale oriente les participants de façon différente en ce qui concerne les sources du savoir valorisé : est-ce seulement l'enseignante qui possède ce savoir ou est-ce que tout le monde peut participer ? (Voir Erickson et Shultz 1981; Heller sous presse; Erickson et Mohatt 1982.)

2) *Les structures de participation.* Les structures de participation sont les conventions de prise de parole : qui a le droit de parler, quand, pour dire quoi, comment ? Nous avons déjà examiné le travail de Philips (1972, 1983) qui a démontré que les structures de participation des autochtones de Warm Springs étaient différentes de celles de leurs enseignants : en fait, plusieurs recherches en milieu autochtone démontrent des régularités similaires, dans ce sens que dans ces milieux pour la plupart on considère que chaque individu a le droit de décider quand il ou elle va intervenir. Ceci cause des difficultés lorsqu'un(e) enseignant(e) veut garder le contrôle sur les prises de parole, c'est-à-dire choisir qui va parler et quand (comme dans la plupart des salles de classe nord-américaines). De plus, on trouve souvent des formes communicatives collectives, par exemple, une personne commence une phrase et l'autre va la terminer. Par contre, la structure typique d'une salle de classe nord-américaine demande qu'une personne parle à la fois; autrement, on considère qu'on a interrompu et, à la limite, manqué de respect envers l'autre.

En fait, plusieurs recherches en Europe aussi bien qu'en Amérique du Nord ont confirmé une structure typique que l'on a appelé en anglais "I-R-E", ou "initiation-response-evaluation". Selon cette structure, l'enseignant(e) pose une question, l'élève répond, et l'enseignant(e) évalue la qualité de la réponse (par exemple, l'enseignant(e) peut demander "Quelle est la capitale du Canada?", l'élève répond, "Ottawa", l'enseignant(e) réagit, "C'est ça", avant de continuer avec la leçon). Cette structure révèle la valeur accordée aux réponses individuelles comme moyen de vérifier l'apprentissage, apprentissage qui est considéré la propriété de l'individu. Ceci est donc à contraster avec des structures collectives qui permettent un processus d'apprentissage et une construction de savoir collectifs.

Chaque situation de la salle de classe (et plus généralement du milieu scolaire) se déroule selon des structures de participation conventionnalisées. Ceci est vrai aussi bien pour les interactions libres en salle de classe que pour des situations d'évaluation comme des entrevues d'admission ou des tests ou examens. (Voir Mehan 1979; Philips 1972, 1983; Vogt et al. 1987; Au et Jordan 1981; McCarty et al. 1991; Carrasco et al. 1981; Heller 1989; Heller et Barker 1988.)

3) *Les structures discursives.* La forme même des messages que l'on essaie de transmettre est conventionnalisée et sert à contextualiser leur contenu. Michaels (1981) a remarqué l'importance de la forme de l'expression verbale dans une maternelle américaine composée d'un groupe d'élèves de race noire et d'un autre de race blanche. A tous les matins, l'enseignante demandait aux élèves de raconter une histoire, un événement, dans une activité qui est largement considérée comme une préparation orale à la littéracie. Elle a noté que les élèves de race blanche formulaient leurs histoires selon un seul thème, tandis que les élèves de race noire avaient une structure qu'elle a appelé "associative", selon laquelle les thèmes doivent s'enchaîner. L'enseignante, qui était de race blanche, fournissait beaucoup d'appui aux élèves de race blanche, ajoutant des questions supplémentaires, construisant "l'échafaudage" qui permet aux élèves d'élaborer et faire évoluer leurs capacités discursives. Par contre, elle interrompait souvent les élèves de race noire, disant que leur histoire n'avait pas de thème central ("no point"). Les élèves de race blanche se sentaient bien encadrés, tandis que ceux de race noire étaient souvent frustrés, disant que l'enseignante leur coupait la parole avant la fin de leur histoire. Michaels attribue cette différence aux difficultés de compréhension de l'enseignante face à une structure discursive différente

de la sienne; lorsqu'on est confronté à une telle différence normalement il est difficile de reconnaître l'existence même d'une structure et on est plutôt porté à croire que la structure n'y est pas ("there's no point").

Covey (1983) a remarqué une différence semblable dans les écrits d'étudiants chinois dans une université ontarienne. Leur structure discursive chinoise, sous forme de spirale textuelle, était littéralement invisible aux yeux de leurs évaluateurs ontariens, qui accordaient des notes très basses à des textes "mal écrits".

Donc la forme même d'un texte ou de l'expression orale est conventionnalisée et remplit des fonctions de contextualisation importantes. Les différences de forme discursive s'ajoutent aux différences en ce qui concerne l'organisation des échanges entre interlocuteurs et celles reliées à leur répartition et orientation dans l'espace et dans le temps. Lorsque deux systèmes de formes différents se confrontent, il est souvent difficile de reconnaître la source des malentendus qui peuvent suivre, puisque nous ne possédons justement pas les cadres d'interprétation qui seraient nécessaires à un tel diagnostique. (Voir Brice Heath 1983; Auer et di Luzio 1992; Gumperz 1982a,b; Hornberger 1988.)

Ajoutons ici la deuxième fonction de la communication en salle de classe, celle de construire le contenu des savoirs importants et légitimes. Nous avons déjà fait allusion à l'absence dans le programme scolaire des cours de géographie, de littérature et d'histoire de contenus africains, pour n'en donner un exemple. Une étudiante de l'OISE, Judy Hunter, rédige actuellement une thèse qui porte en partie sur ce genre de processus dans une salle de classe élémentaire en Ontario (voir Hunter 1993). Elle a remarqué que dans des cours de rédaction, suivant la méthode "process writing", les élèves spontanément choisissent des thèmes qu'ils trouvent intéressants. Cependant, certains thèmes, notamment des thèmes de violence, sont découragés par l'enseignante, ce qui marginalise les activités de rédaction des élèves. Comme conséquence, ironiquement, les élèves finissent par poursuivre leurs thèmes, mais à l'oral au lieu de le faire à l'écrit.

Il est évident que les conventions de la salle de classe ontarienne ne sont pas neutres, mais reflètent bien certaines croyances et certaines valeurs. On met l'accent sur l'individu et non pas la collectivité, par exemple, et on considère que l'autorité, le contrôle, et la responsabilité pour ce qui se passe en salle de classe sont situés avec le personnel enseignant et non pas avec l'élève. Certains sujets sont légitimes, d'autres tabous. Ceci dit, nous avons tendance à agir comme si ces conventions étaient neutres et universels, et nous jugeons les performances des élèves dans le cadre des ces conventions comme si tout le monde en avaient des connaissances également approfondies. Dans la partie suivante, nous verrons quelques conséquences de cette situation pour ce qui est de l'équité d'accès au savoir construite et transmise à l'école.

4. Les différences sociales et l'équité scolaire

Les conventions culturelles de la salle de classe, et plus généralement du milieu scolaire, reflètent les conventions des groupes sociaux qui ont un pouvoir de décision face à l'éducation comme institution sociale. Quoique ces conventions sont censées être neutres, elles servent de base à la formulation de jugements des comportements des élèves, et facilitent ou empêchent leur compréhension des attentes de l'école et des savoirs qui y sont valorisés selon que les élèves partagent ou non au point de départ les mêmes conventions de communication. De plus, le traitement scolaire accordée aux élèves varient aussi selon le jugement apporté.

Par exemple, dans une école franco-ontarienne, nous avons noté que les élèves classés au niveau général pour les cours de Français étaient souvent des francophones de la classe ouvrière, qui maîtrisent donc le français canadien vernaculaire plutôt que le français standard. Les élèves du niveau avancé étaient de la classe moyenne ou moyenne supérieure, et pouvaient inclure des élèves qui n'avaient appris le français qu'à l'école. Les élèves du niveau avancé apprenaient comment analyser et produire des textes écrits et souvent littéraires, une forme d'apprentissage essentielle à l'accès aux études

supérieures. Les élèves du niveau général travaillaient surtout sur l'oral ou sur des textes relativement simplifiés et techniques. A toutes fins pratiques, ces différences voulaient dire qu'un élève du niveau général aurait de plus en plus de difficultés pour accéder au niveau avancé. Le classement des élèves se fait donc en partie à base des variétés linguistiques maîtrisées (français vernaculaire ou français standard), et une fois classées les élèves sont de plus en plus éloignés ou rapprochés des formes valorisées par l'école selon leur niveau de classement.

Collins (1988) a analysé ces processus dans une école élémentaire américaine dont la plupart des élèves étaient de race noire. Certains étaient plus familiers que d'autres avec le genre de lecture préconisé à l'école et se trouvaient regroupés dans un groupe de lecture avancé, tandis que les autres se trouvaient dans un groupe de rattrapage. De nouveau, les élèves du groupe avancé pouvaient passer leur temps à discuter du contenu des textes, tandis que les membres du groupe de rattrapage devaient se concentrer sur des détails de prononciation, notamment sur la substitution de la prononciation selon ce qu'on appelle le Black English Vernacular (BEV, et que l'on peut qualifier de la langue première des élèves) par l'anglais standard de la classe moyenne de race blanche. Aux États-Unis, ce genre de problème a même été amené en cours de loi lorsqu'un groupe de parents de race noire dans l'état de Michigan a poursuivi le conseil scolaire pour avoir fourni un enseignement de deuxième qualité à leurs enfants. Les parents disaient que l'école avait jugé les capacités des élèves de façon négative uniquement à partir de leur emploi du BEV et non de l'anglais dit "standard" et leur a fourni un programme plus limité en conséquence (Labov 1982). La cour leur a donné raison.

Les différences socioculturelles en termes de conventions de communication peuvent donc avoir un impact énorme sur les possibilités d'accès des jeunes de groupes minoritaires à la réussite scolaire, pour ne pas parler des coûts occasionnés en termes de la destruction de l'estime de soi. Lorsque je parle avec les jeunes Franco-Ontariens, on continue de me dire "Je parle mal". Cette intériorisation des valeurs linguistiques des groupes dominants fait partie du "cycle de désavantage"
(Jupp et al. 1982) des groupes dominés.

5. Comment briser le cycle de désavantage?

Il y a deux points de vue dominants en ce qui concerne les meilleures façons de briser le cycle de désavantage. Le premier point de vue fait valoir l'importance de reconnaître l'existence des conventions culturelles minoritaires dans les processus mêmes de la salle de classe. Plusieurs expériences pédagogiques ont été basées sur ce point de vue. Aux États-Unis, par exemple, le projet KEEP (Kamehameha Elementary Education Program) a intégré des formes collectives discursives des autocthones hawaïens dans la salle de classe, avec des résultats positifs sur l'apprentissage de la lecture par les élèves (Au et Jordan 1981; Jordan 1985). L'école de la réserve navaho Rough Rock dans l'Arizona a bâti son programme scolaire sur des principes et conventions culturels navajos avec, encore une fois, de bons résultats sur le plan du rendement scolaire (McCarty et al. 1991). Des expériences en milieu autochtone au Canada selon ces mêmes principes semblent également satisfaisants (Heimbecker 1994).

Cependant, tous ne sont pas d'accord sur le bien-fondé d'une approche qui mise trop sur les pratiques culturelles des groupes minoritaires. Delpit (1988) par exemple avance l'argument que les jeunes américains de race noire n'iront pas plus loin dans la société si tout ce qu'on leur enseigne c'est le BEV. Ils ont toujours besoin, selon elle, de savoir c'est quoi la langue du pouvoir. A eux plus tard de décider s'ils veulent travailler au changement de ces rapports de pouvoir, mais selon Delpit ils seront mieux placés pour le faire ayant maîtrisé la langue qu'ils veulent modifier.

Ici en Ontario, nous avons adopté une approche légèrement différente et qui essaie d'intégrer des éléments de ces différents points de vue (Heller et al. 1990; Heller et Barker 1988). Nous avons pris la position que les élèves devraient maîtriser la gamme la plus complète possible de variétés du français, tout en reconnaissant le lien entre leur maîtrise du français et leur maîtrise d'autres langues. Nous avons créé une approche pédagogique basée sur le concept de répertoire linguistique et utilisant une combinaison d'approches ethnographiques et coopératives. Notre but était de donner aux élèves les

Les aspects socioculturels du rôle du langage dans les processus d'apprentissage

outils nécessaires afin de prendre conscience des variétés linguistiques de leur propre répertoire et de celui de leur collectivité et ensuite afin de maîtriser les variétés qu'ils ne possédaient pas encore. Nous voulions à la fois faciliter l'accès à la langue standard (la langue du pouvoir) et élargir la gamme de variétés reconnues comme légitimes dans le contexte scolaire.

Il y a donc un débat interne parmi ceux qui sont quand-même convaincus de la nécessité d'élargir le programme et les approches scolaires aux formes d'apprentissage et aux intérêts minoritaires. Il s'agit de savoir si l'on doit remplacer ou modifier les formes de savoir valorisés à l'école par des formes marginalisées, c'est-à-dire accorder une légitimité et une place à l'école pour ces formes de savoir auparavant invisibles, si l'on doit tout simplement se servir de ces formes pour faciliter l'accès des élèves aux formes dominantes ou bien si l'on doit essayer de faire les deux.

Un autre point de vue insiste sur l'importance des rapports de pouvoir entre l'école comme représentante des groupes dominants et les élèves provenant de groupes dominés. Selon ces critiques, les jeunes réussiront à l'école s'ils sont convaincus que cela leur apportera quelque chose, peu importe si les conventions de l'école sont différentes des leurs ou non (Ogbu 1987). Si pour les jeunes l'école ne donne rien, on peut intégrer tout ce qu'on veut de leur culture, ce sera simplement perçu comme une co-optation de la part du groupe dominant, et occasionnera la création d'autres formes culturelles qui fonctionneront pour faciliter la résistance envers l'autorité scolaire. Par contre, si les jeunes ont l'espoir de pouvoir faire quelque chose avec leur diplôme, ils travailleront pour maîtriser même les formes culturelles qui leur sont étrangères.

Il me semble que la meilleure voie intègre des éléments de ces divers points de vue. D'une part, il est évident que les différences culturelles peuvent être un obstacle à la création de rapports de confiance entre les élèves minoritaires et l'école, elles peuvent empêcher la construction d'un cadre d'interprétation commune qui permettrait à l'école et à la communauté de fonctionner ensemble envers des objectifs partagés. Comme l'indiquent Henriot-Van Zanten et Anderson-Levitt (1992:88) : "Le problème que rencontrent dans la classe les enseignants et les élèves appartenant à des cultures différentes n'est pas tant celui des différences que le fait que ces différences deviennent des frontières en créant des groupes antagonistes et en faisant de la classe un terrain d'affrontement quotidien".

Il est donc essentiel non seulement de reconnaître l'existence des conventions culturelles minoritaires, mais aussi de comprendre les cadres d'interprétation, les valeurs, pratiques, attentes et croyances que ces conventions reflètent et contribuent aux interactions en milieu scolaire. De plus, il faut comprendre que les conventions de l'école ne sont pas neutres non plus, mais reflètent bien des valeurs et croyances spécifiques. Finalement, il faut comprendre que les différences culturelles se développent et évoluent dans un contexte de rapports de pouvoir inégaux, et que pour les utiliser de façon positive il faut aussi travailler sur les rapports de pouvoir qui les sous-tend. Si l'intégration des formes culturelles autochtones a des effets positifs, c'est aussi parce que les autochtones eux-mêmes ont acquis une mesure de contrôle sur leurs écoles. Si nos stratégies pour élargir la gamme de compétences en français des jeunes francophones fonctionnent, c'est parce que les jeunes eux-mêmes ont pu atteindre une plus grande mesure d'autonomie et de responsabilité pour leur propre apprentissage.

Il s'agit donc ni plus ni moins d'un projet d'école pluraliste, où l'on intègre des processus permettant la découverte des différences culturelles et des rapports sociaux qui les sous-tend. En même temps, il faut également intégrer des possibilités pour établir des consensus locaux sur les valeurs à maintenir et les moyens de les partager. L'école doit devenir le partenaire des groupes minoritaires aussi bien que celui des groupes dominants.

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Les politiques linguistiques à l'école : contraintes et libertés découlant des dispositions provinciales et nationales et les engagements internationaux

Normand Labrie

31 janvier 1994

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

Labrie, Normand.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école: contraintes et libertés découlant des dispositions provinciales et nationales et les engagements internationaux, 31 janvier 1994.

This paper looks at policies at the school, provincial, national and international level concerning minority languages in schools at a time when administrative language policies are being developed in Ontario. Labrie notes the different policy definitions of minority languages, i.e., "national" minority languages which may include aboriginal languages, and "immigrant" languages. He finds that French is permitted as a language of instruction, and the teaching of English from Grades 5 to 8 is required in French-language Ontario schools. Admittance to French-language schools depends on the language or schooling of the family, or on whether an admissions committee permits non-Francophones to attend. In Europe, language policy is also moving to the protection of national minority languages, but usually "immigrant" languages are excluded.

He concludes that there are few barriers in provincial, interprovincial and federal policies to preclude the development of language policies to benefit their students in their particular context by schools and school boards in Ontario.

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Ce document examine les politiques au niveau scolaire, provincial, national et international concernant les langues minoritaires dans les écoles et ce, au moment où l'on élabore les politiques linguistiques de type administratif en Ontario. Monsieur Labrie parle des différentes définitions des langues minoritaires, c'est-à-dire les langues minoritaires dites «nationales» qui peuvent inclure les langues autochtones, et les langues dites «d'immigration». Il constate que le français est autorisé comme langue d'enseignement et que dans les écoles de langue française, l'anglais doit constituer une matière au programme, du moins de la 5e à la 8e année. L'admission dans les écoles de langue française dépend de la langue ou des antécédents scolaires de la famille ou de la décision des comités d'admission pour ce qui est de l'admission d'élèves non francophones. En Europe, les politiques linguistiques tendent aussi vers la protection des langues nationales minoritaires. Cependant, les langues dites «d'immigration» sont exclues.

L'auteur conclut que les politiques provinciales, interprovinciales et fédérales comportent peu d'obstacles entravant l'élaboration de politiques linguistiques par les écoles et conseils scolaires de l'Ontario, politiques adaptées aux élèves dans leur contexte particulier.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

341

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

342

RÉSUMÉ

Au moment de développer une politique linguistique de type administratif au niveau scolaire, on doit se demander quelles sont les contraintes imposées par les politiques existantes de niveau provincial, interprovincial, fédéral et international. Ayant examiné cette question, on pourra mieux déterminer quel est le degré de liberté dont disposent les écoles.

La politique linguistique de l'école doit permettre une meilleure prise en compte du contexte qui lui est propre, de façon à harmoniser les rapports entre, d'une part, les langues de l'école, à savoir la langue d'enseignement et les langues secondes ou étrangères à enseigner (ou en d'autres termes la langue en tant que médium d'instruction et en tant que matière enseignée), et d'autre part, la réalité linguistique des élèves, incluant en premier lieu leur langue première pouvant correspondre aussi bien à la langue dominante, à une langue minoritaire, à une langue d'origine ou à une langue autochtone, et, en second lieu, leurs comportements langagiers axés autour du bilinguisme qui s'exprime sous différentes formes : la dominance linguistique, l'alternance et le mixage de codes, les emprunts, les interférences.

Au niveau provincial, les dispositions législatives incluses dans la *Loi sur l'éducation* de l'Ontario déterminent le médium d'instruction dans les systèmes scolaires, respectivement de langue anglaise et de langue française, celui de langue française étant réservé aux francophones tels que définis par la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, en plus des élèves non francophones acceptés par les comités d'admission. Elles exigent des enseignants, aussi bien dans le système de langue anglaise que dans celui de langue française, que ceux-ci se conforment, sauf exception, à ce médium d'instruction dans l'accomplissement de leurs fonctions par le biais d'un comportement unilingue. Enfin, dans les écoles primaires de langue française, elles prévoient en outre que la langue dominante, l'anglais, fasse partie des matières enseignées, au moins de la 5e à la 8e année.

Au niveau fédéral, les dispositions constitutionnelles ne semblent pas constituer un obstacle à l'élaboration de politiques linguistiques à l'école, en autant que les membres de la minorité de langue officielle, c'est-à-dire de langue française en Ontario, disposent de leurs propres écoles. Conformément à l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, ces dispositions sont fondées sur les antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille.

Sur le plan international, les plus récentes mesures adoptées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies vont dans le sens de la reconnaissance du droit des membres des minorités à l'emploi de leur langue première (ou maternelle), y inclus dans le milieu scolaire. Aucune distinction n'est établie entre les différents types de minorités, que ce soit des minorités dites nationales, des minorités immigrantes ou des minorités autochtones. Ces mesures semblent s'appliquer à toutes ces minorités, dans la mesure où celles-ci disposent d'assises territoriales, condition qui nous semble sujet à controverse en particulier dans un pays d'immigration comme le Canada. En Europe, les travaux de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, auxquels participe le Canada, vont dans le sens de la reconnaissance des minorités dites nationales (excluant les minorités immigrantes), qui correspondent dans le contexte canadien aux minorités de langues officielles en plus des minorités autochtones. D'autres initiatives européennes, auxquelles le Canada n'a pas participé, témoignent des pressions actuelles qui sont exercées sur la scène internationale en vue de la protection et de la promotion des minorités linguistiques. Celles-ci tendent cependant à exclure les minorités immigrantes. Quant aux minorités autochtones, déjà comprises parmi les minorités dites nationales, celles-ci semblent être sur le point d'obtenir une reconnaissance particulière de la part des organisations internationales en vue d'une meilleure protection, en particulier dans le domaine scolaire.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

En somme, compte tenu de l'importance que semble prendre la protection et la promotion des minorités nationales, immigrantes et autochtones dans les nouvelles initiatives internationales; compte tenu aussi de la composition de la population canadienne, comprenant des minorités de langue officielle, des immigrants et des groupes autochtones; et compte tenu, enfin, de l'absence de contraintes majeures sur le plan provincial, interprovincial et fédéral, le développement de politiques linguistiques par les conseils scolaires et les écoles semble constituer une piste à privilégier. Les conseils scolaires et les écoles sont directement concernées par les comportements linguistiques des élèves et c'est en fonction de cette réalité que des politiques linguistiques pourraient être développées en tenant compte de la langue de l'école, des antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille et de la langue première des élèves.

Introduction

Dans un mémoire présenté à la Commission royale sur l'éducation, mes collègues David Corson, Jim Cummins, Monica Heller et moi-même (1993) avons attiré l'attention sur l'importance que des politiques linguistiques explicites soient établies dans les écoles, qui tiennent compte de la diversité linguistique et culturelle qui caractérise le monde scolaire et notre société en général, et qui visent à l'intégration de tous les élèves dans un esprit d'équité.

Nous avons défini la **politique linguistique** comme un ensemble de règles de comportements langagiers qu'une communauté linguistique est censée suivre, aussi bien dans le choix des langues, que dans les variétés de langues employées. La politique linguistique de l'école doit permettre une meilleure prise en compte du contexte qui lui est propre, de façon à harmoniser les rapports entre, d'une part, les langues de l'école, à savoir la langue d'enseignement et les langues secondes ou étrangères à enseigner (ou en d'autres termes la langue en tant que médium d'instruction et en tant que matière enseignée), et d'autre part, la réalité linguistique des élèves, incluant en premier lieu leur langue première pouvant correspondre aussi bien à la langue dominante, à une langue minoritaire, à une langue d'origine ou à une langue autochtone, et, en second lieu, leurs comportements langagiers axés autour du bilinguisme, de la dominance linguistique, de l'alternance et du mixage de codes.

Au moment de développer une politique linguistique de type administratif au niveau scolaire, on doit se demander quelles sont les contraintes imposées par les politiques existantes de niveau provincial, interprovincial, fédéral et international. Ces contraintes peuvent être de nature réglementaire, politique et idéologique. Ayant examiné cette question, on pourra mieux déterminer quel est le degré de liberté dont disposent les écoles. Soulignons cependant que ce rapport de recherche ne constitue pas un avis juridique, mais bien une étude exploratoire des contraintes et libertés découlant des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux suivant une approche sociolinguistique.

Comme nous le verrons, les dispositions législatives provinciales se limitent à déterminer les langues de l'école, tandis que les dispositions nationales, essentiellement d'ordre constitutionnel, se préoccupent des droits des minorités linguistiques en fonction des antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille, et que les dispositions internationales, incluant pactes, chartes, conventions et déclarations, tendent à se préoccuper de la réalité linguistique des élèves, pour tenir compte en premier lieu de leur langue première et de leur droit de recevoir un enseignement dans cette langue, que ce soit comme médium d'instruction ou comme matière enseignée.

Au delà des dispositions provinciales, nationales et internationales, qui portent soit sur les langues de l'école, soit sur la langue première des élèves, l'école demeure la seule concernée par les comportements linguistiques des élèves, qui sont empreints de phénomènes liés au bilinguisme, à la dominance linguistique et à l'alternance et au mixage de codes. Dans la grande région de Toronto, par exemple, où l'on trouve des écoles pluriethniques, des écoles francophones et des écoles d'immersion, plus de la moitié des élèves sont concernés par les comportements bilingues, ce qui devrait inciter l'école à développer un politique linguistique mieux adaptée à cette réalité.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école : contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

344

Contraintes et libertés au niveau provincial

Au niveau provincial, les contraintes entourant l'élaboration de politiques linguistiques dans les conseils scolaires et les écoles doivent d'abord être recherchées dans la *Loi sur l'éducation*. Conformément à la constitution canadienne, cette loi opère une première distinction entre la clientèle régulière des écoles ontariennes (de langue anglaise) et la clientèle «francophone», cette dernière ayant droit à ses propres institutions éducatives. Il en résulte deux systèmes d'enseignement, l'un opérant avec l'anglais comme médium d'enseignement, l'autre opérant avec le français (Partie XI de la *Loi sur l'éducation*). Les élèves ayant droit de fréquenter le système francophone sont définis comme suit :

> **Article 257(a)** ««francophone» Enfant d'une personne qui a le droit, en vertu du paragraphe 23 (1) ou (2), sans tenir compte du paragraphe 23 (3), de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, de faire instruire ses enfants aux niveaux élémentaire et secondaire en français en Ontario».

Dans le cas de l'enseignement destiné à la minorité de langue officielle, la Partie XI de la *Loi sur l'éducation*, intitulée *Enseignement en français*, comprend des dispositions reconnaissant aux élèves francophones le droit de fréquenter des écoles primaires (Article 258(2)) et secondaires (Article 261(2)) de langue française :

> **Article 258** (2) Le francophone qui satisfait aux conditions requises par la présente loi pour être élève résident d'un conseil a le droit de recevoir l'enseignement élémentaire dans un module scolaire de langue française qui relève du conseil ou qui est prévu par lui.
>
> **Article 261** (1) Le francophone qui satisfait aux conditions requises par la présente loi pour être élève résident d'un conseil a le droit de recevoir l'enseignement secondaire dans un module scolaire de langue française qui relève du conseil ou qui est prévu par lui.

En ce qui a trait à l'admissibilité des francophones à l'école de langue minoritaire, en plus de respecter l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, la *Loi sur l'éducation* prévoit un mécanisme spécifique pour décider de l'admissibilité à l'école française d'élèves non francophones. L'article 258(6a) offre la possibilité à des élèves non francophones d'être admis à l'école primaire, tandis que l'article 273(1) leur offre cette même possibilité dans les écoles secondaires :

> **Article 258** (6a) À la demande du père ou de la mère d'un élève du conseil qui n'est pas francophone, d'une personne qui a la garde légitime d'un élève du conseil qui n'est pas francophone ou de l'élève lui-même s'il est adulte et n'est pas francophone, le conseil peut admettre l'élève à un module scolaire de langue française si son admission est approuvée à la majorité des voix par les membres du comité d'admission constitué par le conseil et composé du directeur de l'école où la demande d'admission a été faite, d'un enseignant qui dispense son enseignement en français dans cette école et d'un agent de supervision francophone à l'emploi du conseil ou dont les services ont été retenus conformément au paragraphe (7).
>
> **Article 273** (1) Le conseil peut, à la demande d'un de ses élèves qui n'est pas francophone ou, si l'élève est mineur, à la demande de son père, de sa mère ou de son tuteur, accepter l'élève dans un module scolaire de langue française si son admission est approuvée à la majorité des voix lors d'un vote du comité d'admission nommé par le conseil et composé du directeur de l'école où se trouve le module scolaire de langue française, d'un professeur de langue française de cette école et, sous réserve du paragraphe (2), d'un agent de supervision francophone employé par le conseil.

L'école de langue française est donc tenue d'accepter tout élève défini en tant que francophone conformément à l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, et elle dispose de la possibilité d'accepter des élèves non francophones par l'entremise des comités d'admission. Or, s'il arrive dans certains cas que les élèves francophones admis d'office n'aient qu'une connaissance rudimentaire de la langue française, la majeure partie des non francophones admis par les comités d'admission sont généralement des élèves qui possèdent une certaine connaissance du français.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

345

Une fois le médium d'instruction fixé par la loi, les enseignants sont tenus de s'en tenir à un usage exclusif de cette langue dans l'accomplissement de leurs fonctions, sauf si l'élève ne comprend pas la langue en question, et sauf dans les cours de langue en tant que matières. C'est ce que prévoit l'article 235 sur les fonctions de l'enseignant dans la Partie IX (Les enseignants) de la *Loi sur l'éducation* :

> **Article 235** (1) L'enseignant, même temporaire, exerce les fonctions suivantes :
> [...]
> f) pour l'enseignement et les communications avec les élèves en ce qui concerne la discipline et le fonctionnement de l'école :
> (i) utiliser l'anglais, sauf lorsque l'emploi de cette langue est impossible du fait que l'élève ne comprend pas l'anglais et sauf à l'égard de l'enseignement dans une langue autre que l'anglais quand cette autre langue est une des matières figurant au programme d'études,
> (ii) utiliser le français dans les écoles ou les classes où le français est la langue d'enseignement, sauf lorsque l'emploi de cette langue est impossible du fait que l'élève ne comprend pas le français et sauf à l'égard de l'enseignement dans une langue autre que le français quand cette autre langue est une des matières figurant au programme d'études;

L'article 235 a pour effet de limiter l'adaptation des enseignants aux comportements linguistiques des élèves, dans le sens où ils sont tenus au monolinguisme, tandis que le parler des élèves est souvent caractérisé par le bilinguisme, notamment en situation minoritaire francophone, dans les classes d'immersion et chez les élèves provenant de familles immigrées récemment au Canada.

Par ailleurs, dans les écoles primaires de langue française, l'anglais doit constituer une matière au programme, du moins de la 5e à la 8e année. C'est ce qui est prévu par l'article 258 (5) et (6) :

> **Article 258** (5) L'anglais peut être une matière au programme de n'importe quelle année dans un module scolaire de langue française mentionné au paragraphe (2).
> (6) L'anglais est une matière au programme des 5e, 6e, 7e et 8e années du module scolaire de langue française.

En somme, les dispositions incluses dans la *Loi sur l'éducation* de l'Ontario déterminent le médium d'instruction dans les systèmes scolaires, respectivement de langue anglaise et de langue française, le second étant réservé aux francophones tels que définis par la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, en plus des non francophones acceptés par les comités d'admission. Elles exigent des enseignants des écoles de langue anglaise ou française que ceux-ci se conforment, sauf exception, au médium d'instruction dans l'accomplissement de leurs fonctions par le biais d'un comportement unilingue. Enfin, pour les écoles primaires de langue française, elles prévoient que la langue dominante, l'anglais, fasse partie des matières enseignées dans les écoles primaires, au moins de la 5e à la 8e année.

À ces considérations sur les termes législatifs de l'emploi des langues dans l'éducation en Ontario, on doit ajouter quelques mots sur l'existence de la *Loi sur les services en français*. *Celle-ci* reconnaît en préambule que la langue française jouit, en Ontario, du statut de langue officielle dans l'éducation. Conformément à cette loi, des services sont offerts en français à la population, notamment dans ses rapports avec le ministère de l'Éducation qui a établi une direction en français et qui a un coordonnateur des services en français.

Contraintes et libertés au niveau interprovincial

La coopération interprovinciale dans le secteur de l'éducation est assumée par le Conseil des ministres de l'éducation. En l'absence d'ententes bilatérales entre les provinces canadiennes dans le secteur de l'éducation visant les questions linguistiques, il n'existe pas comme tel de contraintes interprovinciales en matière de politiques linguistiques à l'école. Le degré de liberté des écoles est

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école : contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

346

donc entier à ce niveau.

Il serait possible cependant d'envisager l'établissement d'accords de réciprocité entre les provinces, sous forme d'ententes sectorielles dans l'éducation, qui pourraient favoriser la coopération, notamment en ce qui concerne les écoles destinées aux minorités de langue officielle de l'Ontario et du Québec. Il pourrait également être profitable d'envisager des ententes portant sur l'enseignement «en» ou «des» langues autochtones, cri et inuktitut, qui se retrouvent de part et d'autre des frontières interprovinciales.

L'élaboration de telles ententes est fortement encouragée d'ailleurs par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies qui a adopté le 18 décembre 1992 la *Déclaration des droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales ou ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques*, que nous examinerons dans la section sur les contraintes et les libertés de niveau international :

> **Article 5, paragraphe 2**
> Des programmes de coopération et d'assistance entre États devraient être élaborés et mis en oeuvre compte dûment tenu des intérêts légitimes des personnes appartenant à des minorités.

En Europe, c'est par le biais d'ententes bilatérales que l'enseignement des langues d'origine est dispensé, tel que suggéré dans la *Directive concernant la scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants* adoptée par le Conseil des ministres de la Communauté européenne le 25 juillet 1977 (reproduite à l'Annexe I)[1]. En France, par exemple, l'État s'engage à fournir les infrastructures nécessaires, tandis que les pays d'origine des immigrants fournissent le personnel enseignant. Une telle disposition présente l'inconvénient que le pays hôte ne possède pas de contrôle direct sur le contenu de l'enseignement. Certains déplorent en effet que dans certains cas les cours de langue d'origine servent en premier lieu à l'enseignement religieux et à la transmission de valeurs patriotiques plus représentatives du pays d'origine que du pays hôte.

Contraintes et libertés au niveau fédéral

L'éducation ne relevant pas des compétences fédérales, les contraintes émanant de ce niveau de gouvernement sont limitées aux dispositions constitutionnelles. La contrainte la plus forte émane de l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés de la personne*, intitulé *Droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité*. C'est à partir de cet article que l'on définit qui fait partie des ayant-droit à l'éducation en langue officielle minoritaire et que, incidemment, la *Loi sur l'éducation* de l'Ontario définit qui est «francophone».

L'article 23 de la Charte avait été rédigé à l'origine en réaction à - et sur le modèle de - l'article 73 de la *Charte de la langue française* du Québec, de façon à étendre les dérogations prévues dans cette loi à l'ensemble des Canadiens qui s'établiraient au Québec.

Rappelons que la première loi linguistique adoptée par le Gouvernement du Québec, la Loi 63, avait officialisé la liberté des parents de choisir la langue d'enseignement
de leurs enfants. Devant l'hostilité de la majorité francophone à cette disposition adoptée en faveur des immigrants, italiens notamment, la Loi 22 (La Loi sur la langue officielle) qui la remplaça en 1974 reconnut aux francophones le droit de fréquenter des écoles de langue française et aux Anglo-Québécois celui de fréquenter des écoles de langue anglaise. Pour ce qui est des élèves ne faisant pas partie à proprement parler de la minorité anglo-québécoise mais qui désiraient avoir accès à l'école anglaise, elle instaura un test de connaissance de la langue anglaise, les enfants n'ayant pas de connaissance de la langue anglaise étant automatiquement orientés vers l'école de langue française. Une des conséquences inattendues de cette disposition toucha rudement la population immigrante, italienne notamment, qui disposait déjà d'écoles de langue anglaise et dont les plus jeunes enfants qui ne connaissaient souvent que la langue du foyer, une variété de langue italienne, devaient rompre avec la tendance générale de la communauté ou de la famille et fréquenter

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

347

l'école de langue française. Or, devant le mécontentement de la population immigrante, le gouvernement dirigé par le Parti Québécois promulgua en 1977 la Charte de la langue française, ou Loi 101, qui prévoyait un compromis en faveur de la population ayant déjà commencé à envoyer ses enfants à l'école de langue anglaise, d'où l'article 23 du Chapitre VIII de la *Charte de la langue française* qui permit aux parents d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école de langue anglaise, si l'un d'eux ou l'un des frères ou soeurs aînés de l'enfant ont déjà fréquenté l'école primaire de langue anglaise au Québec. Cette disposition reconnaissait ainsi des droits acquis aux minorités immigrantes déjà installées au Québec et à toute autre famille francophone qui s'était déjà engagée dans cette voie, d'avoir accès au système d'éducation primaire et secondaire de langue anglaise.

Ainsi, lorsque la constitution fut rapatriée en 1982 et que la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* y fut enchâssée, l'article 23 fut rédigé de façon à élargir les ayant droits au système d'éducation de langue anglaise du Québec, non seulement aux personnes ayant fait leurs études primaires au Québec, mais aussi à ceux ayant effectué des études dans cette langue n'importe où au Canada. Cette intervention fédérale dans le domaine de l'éducation, jusqu'alors compétence exclusive des provinces, la première de l'histoire, visait en quelque sorte à assurer la libre circulation des Canadiens d'une province à l'autre. L'article 23 ne fut donc pas rédigé, en premier lieu, à l'intention des minorités francophones hors Québec, bien qu'il devait avoir des conséquences significatives pour ces minorités. Il s'agissait en quelque sorte d'assurer la libre circulation des personnes entre les provinces.

L'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* accorde le droit à l'éducation en langue minoritaire en fonction des antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille et non pas en fonction de la langue première ou d'usage des élèves :

Langue d'instruction
(1) Les citoyens canadiens :
(a) dont la première langue apprise et encore comprise est celle de la minorité francophone ou anglophone de la province où ils résident,
(b) qui ont reçu leur instruction, au niveau primaire, en français ou en anglais au Canada et qui résident dans une province où la langue dans laquelle ils ont reçu cette instruction est celle de la minorité francophone ou anglophone de la province, ont, dans un ou l'autre cas, le droit d'y faire instruire leurs enfants, aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, dans cette langue.

Continuité d'emploi de la langue d'instruction
(2) Les citoyens canadiens dont un enfant a reçu ou reçoit son instruction, au niveau primaire ou secondaire, en français ou en anglais au Canada ont le droit de faire instruire tous leurs enfants, aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, dans la langue de cette instruction.

Justification par le nombre
(3) Le droit reconnu aux citoyens canadiens par les paragraphes (1) et (2) de faire instruire leurs enfants, aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, dans la langue de la minorité francophone ou anglophone d'une province :
(a) s'exerce partout dans la province où le nombre des enfants des citoyens qui ont ce droit est suffisant pour justifier à leur endroit la prestation, sur les fonds publics, de l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité;
(b) comprend, lorsque le nombre de ces enfants le justifie, le droit de les faire instruire dans des établissements d'enseignement de la minorité linguistique financés sur les fonds publics.

Compte tenu que l'article 73 de la *Charte de la langue française* avait été rédigé en guise de compromis envers les familles immigrantes, d'origine italienne et grecque principalement, dont les enfants avaient déjà commencé à être scolarisés dans les écoles de langue anglaise du Québec, et compte tenu que l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* a été rédigé en contre-partie de celui-ci, on comprendra que la définition même des «francophones» que l'on retrouve dans la *Loi*

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

348

sur l'éducation de l'Ontario (basée sur l'article 23 de la *Charte*) est plus ou moins représentative du contexte ontarien, et qu'en vertu de cette définition, les écoles franco-ontariennes soient tenues d'admettre des élèves «francophones» qui, à la limite, peuvent n'avoir aucune connaissance de la langue française.

En plus de reconnaître explicitement le droit des minorités de langue officielle de disposer d'un enseignement dans leur langue, cet article de la *Charte* a impliqué la reconnaissance juridique du droit des parents issus de la minorité de gérer leurs propres écoles. En effet, la Cour suprême du Canada a rendu public un jugement en 1990 dans la cause Mahé, fournissant une interprétation de l'article 23 de la *Charte* en termes du droit de gestion des établissements scolaires :

> «La Cour suprême du Canada confirme que, lorsque le nombre le justifie, l'article 23 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés confère aux parents appartenant à la minorité linguistique un droit de gestion et de contrôle à l'égard des établissements d'enseignement où leurs enfants se font instruire. Dans certaines circonstances et selon le nombre d'élèves en question, l'existence d'un conseil scolaire indépendant peut être justifiée. Dans d'autres circonstances (tel ce cas spécifique ayant trait à Edmonton), il peut suffire de faire représenter la minorité linguistique au sein d'un conseil scolaire existant» (Commissariat aux langues officielles, 1992:44).

En définitive, les dispositions constitutionnelles de niveau fédéral ne semblent pas constituer un obstacle à l'élaboration de politiques linguistiques à l'école, en autant que les membres de la minorité de langue officielle, c'est-à-dire de langue française en Ontario, disposent de leurs propres écoles.

Contraintes et libertés au niveau international

Depuis quelques années, on parle de l'internationalisation des droits des minorités. Le contexte politique international, de même que des considérations de sécurité ont amené les États à adopter une série de mesures visant la protection et la promotion des minorités. Ces mesures peuvent prendre la forme de déclarations ou de conventions (aussi appelées traités ou pactes)[2]. Celles-ci ne sont pas d'application directe dans les États membres. Néanmoins, ces derniers sont censés les transposer dans leurs propres constitutions ou législations.

Trois types de minorités peuvent être distingués dans ces diverses mesures internationales : les minorités nationales dont on reconnaît l'établissement historique sur un territoire; les minorités issues d'un processus de migration récent; et les minorités autochtones. Parmi les mesures qui seront présentées dans cette section, certaines s'adressent aux minorités dans leur ensemble sans préciser s'il s'agit de l'un ou l'autre type. C'est le cas notamment de la première mesure qui sera présentée et qui vient d'être adoptée par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies. D'autres mesures, au contraire, concernent explicitement un seul type de minorités, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

La protection et la promotion des minorités linguistiques a fait l'objet de plusieurs mesures au niveau international au cours des récentes années, l'une des plus importantes étant la *Déclaration des droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales ou ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques*, adoptée par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies le 18 décembre 1992. Cette Déclaration ne spécifie pas un type de minorités en particulier, de telle sorte que l'on peut considérer qu'elle vise aussi bien les minorités nationales, que les minorités immigrantes et les minorités autochtones. Il faut cependant que ces minorités disposent de territoires :

> **Article premier**
> 1. Les États protègent l'existence et l'identité nationale ou ethnique, culturelle, religieuse et linguistique des minorités, sur leurs territoires respectifs, et favorisent l'instauration des conditions propres à promouvoir cette identité.

Cette condition qui consiste à disposer d'assises territoriales peut facilement prêter à controverse, en particulier dans un pays d'immigration comme le Canada.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

349

À l'article 4 de cette déclaration, il est fait mention de la langue première des élèves, que ce soit comme matière ou comme médium d'instruction :

Article 4, paragraphe 3

Les États devraient prendre des mesures appropriées pour que, dans la mesure du possible, les personnes appartenant à des minorités aient la possibilité d'apprendre leur langue maternelle ou de recevoir une instruction dans leur langue maternelle.

Article 4, paragraphe 4

Les États devraient, le cas échéant, prendre des mesures dans le domaine de l'éducation afin d'encourager la connaissance de l'histoire, des traditions, de la langue et de la culture des minorités qui vivent sur leurs territoires. Les personnes appartenant à des minorités devraient avoir la possibilité d'apprendre à connaître la société dans son ensemble.

On remarquera par ailleurs qu'elle s'intéresse non pas à la langue de l'école, ni aux antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille, mais bien à la langue maternelle des personnes appartenant à ces minorités (S'agit-il pour autant de la langue maternelle des élèves ?).

L'Organisation des Nations Unies a également adopté une *Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant* le 26 janvier 1990, dans laquelle on reconnaît aux enfants le droit à la liberté d'expression et le droit d'employer leur propre langue en commun avec les autres membres du groupe, ce qui pourrait aussi inclure le contexte scolaire :

Article 13

1. L'enfant a droit à la liberté d'expression. Ce droit comprend la liberté de rechercher, de recevoir et de répandre des informations et des idées de toute espèce, sans considération de frontières, sous une forme orale, écrite, imprimée ou artistique, ou par tout autre moyen du choix de l'enfant.

[...]

Article 30

Dans les États où il existe des minorités ethniques, religieuses ou linguistiques ou des personnes d'origine autochtone, un enfant autochtone ou appartenant à une de ces minorités ne peut être privé du droit d'avoir sa propre vie culturelle, de professer et de pratiquer sa propre religion ou d'employer sa propre langue en commun avec les autres membres de son groupe [...]

«Adoptée en novembre 1989, cette convention est entrée en vigueur en septembre 1990. Cent cinquante-deux États en étaient signataires au 1er janvier 1994. Le Canada est partie à la Convention depuis 1992» (Le Bouthillier, 1994:21).

Déjà en 1966, l'Organisation des Nations Unies avait proposé un *Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques* (ouvert à la signature le 19 décembre 1966 et entré en vigueur en mars 1976), dans lequel l'article 27 concernait les droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques, qui ne pouvaient être privées d'utiliser leur propre langue :

Article 27

Dans les États où il existe des minorités ethniques, religieuses ou linguistiques, les personnes appartenant à ces minorités ne peuvent être privées du droit d'avoir en commun avec les autres membres de leur groupe, leur propre vie culturelle, de professer et de pratiquer leur propre religion, ou d'employer leur propre langue.

Cent-vingt-cinq États en étaient signataires au 1er janvier 1994 et le Canada est partie au Pacte depuis 1976 (Bouthillier, 1994:21). On remarquera, en comparant ces différents articles, que les conceptions on évolué au niveau international en vue de la protection des minorités linguistiques. Les plus récentes mesures adoptées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies vont dans le sens de la reconnaissance du droit des membres des minorités à l'emploi de leur langue première, y inclus dans le milieu scolaire. Il ne semble pas y avoir de distinction d'établie entre les différents types de minorités, que ce soit de minorités dites nationales, de minorités immigrantes ou de minorités

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

350

autochtones. Ces mesures semblent s'appliquer à toutes, dans la mesure où elles disposent de territoires.

Les minorités dites «nationales»

Une série de mesures internationales ont porté sur les minorités dites nationales, c'est-à-dire des minorités établies traditionnellement sur un territoire. Ces mesures plus restrictives, qui excluent les minorités immigrantes et qui ne font pas explicitement mention des minorités autochtones, quoique l'on puisse considérer ces dernières parmi les minorités nationales, ont été élaborées avant tout en tenant compte du contexte européen[3], où le démantèlement de l'ancienne Union soviétique et du bloc de l'Est a fait apparaître des tensions constituant une menace pour la paix mondiale. Le Canada a fait partie des 33 signataires de la *Charte de Paris* qui, lors d'une rencontre des Chefs d'états et de Gouvernements des États participants de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE) le 21 novembre 1990, ont convenu de coopérer sur la base du *Document de la réunion de Copenhague de la Conférence sur la dimension humaine de la CSCE* adopté le 29 juin 1990. Dans ce document, les membres des minorités dites «nationales» se voient reconnaître le droit de préserver et de développer leur identité linguistique et de créer et maintenir leurs institutions, organisations et associations éducatives. De plus, les membres des minorités devraient avoir la possibilité d'apprendre leur langue maternelle ou de recevoir un enseignement dans cette langue :

(32) L'appartenance à une minorité nationale est une question relevant d'un choix personnel, et aucun désavantage ne peut résulter d'un tel choix.

Les personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales ont le droit d'exprimer, de préserver et de développer en toute liberté leur identité ethnique, culturelle, linguistique ou religieuse et de maintenir et de développer leur culture sous toutes ses formes, à l'abri de toutes tentatives d'assimilation contre leur volonté. En particulier, elles ont le droit [...]

(32.2) - de créer et de maintenir leurs propres institutions, organisations ou associations éducatives, culturelles et religieuses, qui peuvent solliciter des contributions financières bénévoles et autres contributions, y compris une aide publique, conformément à la législation nationale;

[...]

(34) Les États participants s'efforceront de garantir que les personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales, indépendamment de la nécessité d'apprendre la ou les langues officielles de l'État concerné, auront la possibilité d'apprendre leur langue maternelle ou de recevoir un enseignement dans cette langue, ainsi que, si c'est possible et nécessaire, de l'utiliser dans leurs rapports avec les pouvoirs publics, conformément à la législation nationale en vigueur.

Dans l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la culture dans les établissements éducatifs, ils tiendront également compte de l'histoire et de la culture des minorités nationales.

Cette première mesure, à laquelle le Canada a souscrit, va dans le sens de la reconnaissance des minorités dites nationales, qui correspond dans le contexte canadien aux minorités de langues officielles, en plus probablement des minorités autochtones. Toutefois, il semble que les minorités immigrantes ne soient pas touchées. Mais que veut dire l'expression «minorités immigrantes» dans le contexte canadien ? Ne peut-on pas dire que la minorité ukrainienne de la Saskatchewan qui a contribué dès la première heure au développement de la province, constitue une minorité nationale

Ou doit-on considérer qu'il s'agit d'une minorité immigrante ?
Deux autres initiatives récentes, qui, bien qu'elles ne concernent que l'Europe, méritent notre attention étant donné, d'une part, leur caractère à la fois novateur et dialogique et, d'autre part, l'impact qu'elles risquent d'avoir sur la conception internationale des droits des minorités. Le 5 novembre 1992, onze États européens ont signé la *Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires*, qui avait fait l'objet de négociations pendant plusieurs années. Ces États s'engagent,

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

351

une fois la Charte entrée en vigueur dès qu'elle aura été ratifiée par cinq États, à appliquer un minimum de trois paragraphes ou alinéas de l'article 8 portant sur l'enseignement préscolaire, primaire, secondaire, technique et professionnel, universitaire ou supérieur, de même que pour l'éducation aux adultes et l'éducation permanente (voir à l'Annexe II). La formulation très générale de ces articles, de même que la nécessité pour les États signataires de ne choisir qu'un minimum de trois articles ou alinéas, rendent cette mesure relativement peu contraignante pour les États. Notons cependant que seuls trois États ont ratifié la Charte jusqu'à ce jour, et que cette dernière n'est donc pas encore entré en vigueur.

Déplorant que la *Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires* ait été rédigée par les représentants gouvernementaux des différents pays et soulignant que les intérêts des minorités sont souvent opposés à ceux de leurs gouvernements, l'Union fédéraliste des communautés ethniques européennes a élaboré un projet de Convention qu'elle aimerait voir intégrée à la *Charte européenne des droits de l'homme* (Ermacora et Pan, 1993). Ce projet de convention, portant le titre Les *Droits fondamentaux des Groupes ethniques européens*, ne vise que les minorités dites nationales. Il consacre l'article 8 au droit à l'école, en plus de mentionner à l'article 9 le droit de créer et de maintenir des institutions éducatives :

Article 8: Droit à l'école
1. Les groupes et les personnes y appartenant ont le droit à l'enseignement dans leur langue maternelle dans tout le système scolaire.
2. L'enseignement doit principalement être dispensé par des enseignants dont la langue en question est également la langue maternelle.
3. Les plans d'études, la nomination des enseignants et l'inspection scolaire relèvent, dans le cadre des principes généraux de la législation nationale scolaire, de la compétence des groupes.
4. Le financement du système d'enseignement des groupes incombe à l'État. Si l'État n'est pas en mesure d'assurer ce financement, il doit permettre la fréquentation d'écoles privées aux écoliers le désirant.
5. Les États contractants doivent garantir l'enseignement de la langue officielle au sein des écoles obligatoires.
6. L'enseignement des langues des groupes est à favoriser même pour les personnes appartenant à la population majoritaire, il en est de même pour l'enseignement de l'histoire et de culture des groupes, notamment dans les régions où habitent les groupes.

Article 9 : Droit aux propres organisations
1. Les groupes et les personnes y appartenant ont le droit de créer et de maintenir des organisations ou associations y compris les partis politiques dans leur pays.
2. Ils ont notamment le droit de créer et de maintenir librement leurs institutions éducatives et culturelles.

Quoique ces deux mesures qui viennent d'être décrites ne concernent pas directement le Canada et que la dernière en particulier ne se trouve qu'à l'état de projet, leur formulation témoigne des pressions actuelles qui sont exercées sur la scène internationale en vue de la protection et de la promotion des minorités linguistiques.

Mentionnons en outre qu'il existe une *Convention de l'UNESCO contre la discrimination dans l'éducation,* qui fut adoptée en décembre 1960 et qui est entrée en vigueur en mai 1962. Quatre-vingt-quatre États en étaient signataires au 1er janvier 1994. Par contre, le Canada n'est pas partie à cette convention (Le Bouthillier, 1994:21). L'article 5 de cette convention portait sur les droits scolaires des minorités nationales :

Article 5
1. Les États parties à la présente Convention conviennent :
(c) Qu'il importe de reconnaître aux membres des minorités nationales le droit d'exercer des activités éducatives qui leur soient propres, y compris la gestion d'écoles et, selon la

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

politique de chaque État en matière d'éducation, l'emploi ou l'enseignement de leur propre langue, à condition toutefois :

    i) Que ce droit ne soit pas exercé d'une manière qui empêche les membres des minorités de comprendre la culture et la langue de l'ensemble de la collectivité et de prendre part à ses activités, ou qui compromette la souveraineté nationale ;

    ii) Que le niveau de l'enseignement dans ces écoles ne soit pas inférieur au niveau général prescrit ou approuvé par les autorités compétentes ; et

    iii) Que la fréquentation de ces écoles soit facultative.

Minorités autochtones

Quant aux minorités autochtones, deux projets ont vu le jour récemment, bien qu'aucun d'entre eux ne soit encore entré en vigueur. Ainsi, l'Organisation internationale du travail a préparé en 1989 un projet de convention révisée (no 169) concernant les peuples indigènes et tribaux dans les pays indépendants (de Varennes, 1993). «Adoptée en juin 1989, cette convention est entrée en vigueur en septembre 1991. Six États en étaient signataires au 1er janvier 1994, le Canada n'étant pas partie à cette convention» (Le Bouthillier, 1994:22). Le *Pacte relatif aux peuples indigènes et tribaux dans les États indépendants* prévoit que l'on enseigne aux enfants des peuples autochtones à lire et à écrire dans leur propre langue autochtone, ou dans la langue la plus communément utilisée

:   **Article 28**

1. Lorsque cela est réalisable, un enseignement doit être donné aux enfants des peuples intéressés pour leur apprendre à lire et à écrire dans leur propre langue indigène ou dans la langue qui est le plus communément utilisée par le groupe auquel ils appartiennent. Lorsque cela n'est pas réalisable, les autorités compétentes doivent entreprendre des consultations avec ces peuples en vue de l'adoption de mesures permettant d'atteindre cet objectif.

2. Des mesures adéquates doivent être prises pour assurer que ces peuples aient la possibilité d'atteindre la maîtrise de la langue nationale ou de l'une des langues officielles du pays.

3. Des dispositions doivent être prises pour sauvegarder les langues indigènes des peuples intéressés et en promouvoir le développement et la pratique.

Dans la même veine, l'Organisation des Nations Unies a préparé un *Projet de Déclaration universelle sur les droits des peuples autochtones* (daté du 17 septembre 1991)[4], dans lequel il est prévu que les peuples autochtones aient droit à toutes les formes d'enseignement, y compris à l'enseignement dans leur propre langue, et le droit d'établir et de contrôler leurs propres systèmes et établissements d'enseignement avec l'aide financière de l'État :

Article 14

Les peuples autochtones ont le droit de faire renaître, d'utiliser, de développer et de transmettre aux générations futures leur histoire, leur langue, leurs traditions orales, leur philosophie, leur système d'écriture et leur littérature, ainsi que de choisir ou de conserver leurs propres dénominations pour les communautés, les lieux et les personnes.
[...]

Article 15

Les enfants autochtones ont le droit d'accéder à tous les niveaux et à toutes les formes d'enseignement public. Tous les peuples autochtones ont aussi ce droit et celui d'établir et de contrôler leurs propres systèmes et établissements d'enseignement, de dispenser un enseignement dans leurs propres langues, conformément à leurs méthodes culturelles d'enseignement et d'apprentissage.

Les enfants autochtones vivant à l'extérieur de leurs communautés doivent avoir accès à un enseignement conforme à leur propre culture et dispensé dans leur propre langue.

Les États feront en sorte que des ressources appropriées soient affectées à cette fin.

Déjà comprises parmi les minorités dites nationales, les minorités autochtones semblent être sur le point d'obtenir une reconnaissance particulière de la part des organisations internationales en vue d'une meilleure protection et promotion, en particulier dans le domaine scolaire.

Conclusion

Les réalités linguistiques de l'école peuvent être examinées de trois points de vue : les langues de l'école (médium et matière), les langues premières des élèves (dominantes, minoritaires, d'origine et autochtones), et les comportements linguistiques des élèves (bilinguisme, dominance linguistique, de même qu'alternance et mixage de codes). La *Loi sur l'éducation* de l'Ontario ne porte que sur les langues de l'école. Les dispositions constitutionnelles canadiennes s'intéressent aux droits des minorités de langue officielle en fonction des antécédents linguistiques ou scolaires de la famille. Les dispositions internationales sont généralement basées sur les langues premières des élèves.

Au niveau provincial, les dispositions incluses dans la *Loi sur l'éducation* de l'Ontario déterminent le médium d'instruction dans les systèmes scolaires, respectivement de langue anglaise et de langue française, ce dernier étant réservé aux francophones tels que définis par la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, en plus des non francophones acceptés par les comités d'admission. Elles exigent des enseignants, aussi bien dans le système de langue anglaise que dans celui de langue française, que ceux-ci se conforment, sauf exception, à ce médium d'instruction dans l'accomplissement de leurs fonctions par le biais d'un comportement unilingue. Enfin, dans les écoles primaires de langue française, elles prévoient que la langue dominante, l'anglais, fasse partie des matières enseignées, au moins de la 5e à la 8e année.

Au niveau fédéral, les dispositions constitutionnelles ne semblent pas constituer un obstacle à l'élaboration de politiques linguistiques à l'école, en autant que les membres de la minorité de langue officielle, à savoir la minorité de langue française en Ontario, disposent de leurs propres écoles. Conformément à l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, ces dispositions sont fondées sur les antécédents scolaires ou linguistiques de la famille.

Sur le plan international, les plus récentes mesures adoptées par l'Organisation des Nations Unies vont dans le sens de la reconnaissance du droit des membres des minorités à l'emploi de leur langue, y inclus dans le milieu scolaire. Aucune distinction n'est établie entre les différents types de minorités, que ce soit des minorités dites nationales, des minorités immigrantes ou des minorités autochtones. Ces mesures semblent s'appliquer à toutes dans la mesure où elles disposent d'assises territoriales, condition qui nous semble sujet à controverse en particulier dans un pays d'immigration comme le Canada. En Europe, les travaux de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, qui compte le Canada parmi ses membres, vont dans le sens de la reconnaissance des minorités dites nationales (excluant les minorités immigrantes), qui correspondent dans le contexte canadien aux minorités de langues officielles, en plus probablement des minorités autochtones. D'autres initiatives européennes, auxquelles le Canada n'a pas participé, témoignent des pressions actuelles qui sont exercées sur la scène internationale en vue de la protection et de la promotion des minorités linguistiques. Celles-ci tendent cependant à exclure les minorités immigrantes. Quant aux minorités autochtones, déjà comprises parmi les minorités dites nationales, celles-ci semblent être sur le point d'obtenir une reconnaissance particulière de la part des organisations internationales en vue d'une meilleure protection et promotion, en particulier dans le domaine scolaire.

En somme, compte tenu de l'importance que semble prendre la protection et la promotion des minorités nationales, immigrantes et autochtones dans les nouvelles initiatives internationales; compte tenu aussi de la composition de la population canadienne et ontarienne plus spécifiquement, comprenant des minorités de langue officielle, des immigrants et des groupes autochtones; et compte tenu, enfin, de l'absence de contraintes majeures sur le plan provincial, interprovincial et fédéral, le développement de politiques linguistiques adaptées à l'école semble constituer une piste à privilégier. Les conseils scolaires et les écoles sont directement concernées par les comportements linguistiques des élèves et c'est en fonction de cette réalité que des politiques linguistiques pourraient être développées en tenant compte, d'une part, de la langue de l'école, des antécédents scolaires ou linguistiques de la famille et de la langue première des élèves, et, d'autre part, de leurs comportements langagiers qui sont ignorés par l'ensemble des mesures de niveau provincial, national et international.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école : contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

354

1. Le Conseil des ministres de la Communauté européenne a adopté la *Directive concernant la scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants* le 25 juillet 1977. Celle-ci a pour principal objet l'enseignement de la langue maternelle et d'une langue du pays d'accueil. Plus spécifiquement, cette directive prévoit que les États membres prennent des mesures afin que les enfants visés reçoivent un enseignement de la langue officielle ou de l'une des langues officielles de l'État d'accueil. À cet égard, les États membres sont censés prendre les mesures nécessaires pour la formation initiale et continue des enseignants qui assurent cet enseignement. Les États doivent également prendre, en coopération avec les États d'origine, les mesures appropriées en vue de promouvoir, en coordination avec l'enseignement normal, un enseignement de la langue maternelle et de la culture du pays d'origine. La directive du Conseil sur la scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants vise explicitement les ressortissants des pays communautaires, mais elle a aussi été étendue aux ressortissants des pays tiers par une déclaration verbale des ministres de l'Éducation.

2. «Alors que les traités lient les États parties, les déclarations n'ont généralement pas de force contraignante ; elles servent plutôt de guide à la conduite des États et de cadre de référence pour une éventuelle convention. De plus, avec le temps, certaines déclarations peuvent, en tout ou en partie, refléter le droit international en la matière et devenir la règle applicable à tous les États. Une autre distinction importante entre les déclarations et les traités concerne le mécanisme de contrôle. Alors que les déclarations ne comportent généralement aucun mécanisme de mise en oeuvre, les conventions obligent normalement les États parties à présenter au comité compétent un rapport périodique des efforts déployés pour protéger et promouvoir les droits reconnus dans les conventions. Certaines conventions prévoient aussi que les individus ou les États dont les droits protégés par la convention sont violés par un autre État peuvent saisir le comité de ce problème» (Le Bouthillier, 1994:21).

3. Il ne faut pas croire pour autant qu'il n'existe pas de minorités autochtones en Europe, que l'on pense, par exemple, aux Lapons dans les pays scandinaves ou aux Inuit en Russie.

4. «Le Projet final de déclaration a été adopté par le groupe de travail sur les populations autochtones en 1993. Ce projet a été transmis à la Sous-Commission de la lutte contre les mesures discriminatoires et de la protection des minorités qui en étudiera le contenu en 1994 et le transmettra possiblement à la Commission des droits de l'homme pour étude en 1995 (Le Bouthillier, 1994:23).

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Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

355

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Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

356

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Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

357

Directive du Conseil du 25 juillet 1977 visant à la scolarisation des enfants des travailleurs migrants (77/486/CEE) (Journal officiel L199 du 6.8.77, p. 32)

Le Conseil des Communautés européennes,

vu le traité instituant la Communauté économique européenne, et notamment son article 49,

vu la proposition de la Commission,

vu l'avis de l'Assemblée,

vu l'avis du Comité économique et social,

considérant que, dans sa résolution du 21 janvier 1974 concernant le programme d'action sociale, le Conseil a retenu, parmi les actions à entreprendre en priorité, celles tendant à améliorer les conditions de la libre circulation des travailleurs ayant trait notamment à l'accueil et à l'enseignement de leurs enfants ;

considérant que, afin de permettre l'intégration de ces enfants dans le milieu scolaire ou dans le système de formation de l'État d'accueil, il importe que ceux-ci puissent disposer d'un enseignement approprié comprenant l'enseignement de la langue de l'État d'accueil ;

considérant qu'il importe également que les États membres d'accueil prennent, en coopération avec les États membres d'origine, les mesures appropriées en vue de promouvoir l'enseignement de la langue maternelle et de la culture du pays d'origine desdits enfants, afin notamment de faciliter leur intégration éventuelle dans l'état membre d'origine,

A ARRETE LA PRESENTE DIRECTIVE :

Article premier

La présente directive s'applique aux enfants soumis à l'obligation scolaire, telle que définie par la législation de l'État d'accueil, à charge de tout travailleur ressortissant d'un autre État membre, qui résident sur le territoire de l'État membre où ledit ressortissant exerce ou a exercé une activité salariée.

Article 2

Les États membres prennent, conformément à leurs situations nationales et à leurs système [sic] juridiques, les mesures appropriées afin que soit offert sur leur territoire, en faveur des enfants visés à l'article 1er, un enseignement d'accueil gratuit comportant notamment l'enseignement adapté aux besoins spécifiques de ces enfants, de la langue officielle ou de l'une des langues officielles de l'État d'accueil.

Les États membres prennent les mesures nécessaires pour la formation initiale et continue des enseignants qui assurent cet enseignement.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

358

Article 3

Les États membres prennent, conformément à leurs situations nationales et à leurs système [sic] juridiques, et en coopération avec les États d'origine, les mesures appropriées en vue de promouvoir, en coordination avec l'enseignement normal, un enseignement de la langue maternelle et de la culture du pays d'origine en faveur des enfants visés à l'article 1er.

Article 4

Les États membres prennent les mesures nécessaires pour se conformer à la présente directive dans un délai de quatre ans à compter de la notification de celle-ci et en informent immédiatement la Commission.

Les États membres informent en outre la Commission de toutes les dispositions législatives, règlementaires, administratives ou autres qu'ils adoptent dans le domaine régi par la présente directive.

Article 5

Dans un délai de cinq ans à compter de la notification de la présente directive et par la suite d'une façon régulière à la demande de la Commission, les États membres transmettent à la Commission toutes les informations utiles pour lui permettre de faire rapport au Conseil sur l'application de la présente directive.

Article 6

Les États membres sont destinataires de la présente directive.

Fait à Bruxelles, le 25 juillet 1977.

Par le Conseil
Le président
H. SIMONET

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

359

Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires

Article 8   Enseignement

1.   En matière d'enseignement, les parties s'engagent, en ce qui concerne le territoire sur lequel ces langues sont pratiquées, selon la situation de chacune de ces langues et sans préjudice de l'enseignement de la (des) langue(s) officielle(s) de l'État, à:

a.   i.   prévoir une éducation préscolaire assurée dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

ii.   prévoir qu'une partie substantielle de l'éducation préscolaire soit assurée dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

iii.   appliquer l'une des mesures visées sous (i) et (ii) ci-dessus au moins aux élèves dont les familles le souhaitent et dont le nombre est jugé suffisant; ou

iv.   si les pouvoirs publics n'ont pas de compétence directe dans le domaine de l'éducation préscolaire, favoriser et/ou encourager l'application des mesures visées sous (i) à (iii) ci-dessus;

b.   i.   prévoir un enseignement primaire assuré dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

ii.   prévoir qu'une partie substantielle de l'enseignement primaire soit assurée dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

iii.   prévoir, dans le cadre de l'éducation primaire, que l'enseignement des langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées fasse partie intégrante du curriculum; ou

iv.   appliquer l'une des mesures visées sous (i) à (iii) ci-dessus au moins aux élèves dont les familles le souhaitent et dont le nombre est jugé suffisant;

c.   i.   prévoir un enseignement secondaire assuré dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

ii.   prévoir qu'une partie substantielle de l'enseignement secondaire soit assurée dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

iii.   prévoir, dans le cadre de l'éducation secondaire, l'enseignement des langues régionales ou minoritaires comme partie intégrante du curriculum; ou

iv.   appliquer l'une des mesures visées sous (i) à (iii) ci-dessus au moins aux élèves qui le souhaitent - ou le cas échéant dont les familles le souhaitent - en nombre jugé suffisant;

d.   i.   prévoir un enseignement technique et professionnel qui soit assuré dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

ii.   prévoir qu'une partie substantielle de l'enseignement technique et professionnel soit assurée dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

iii.   prévoir, dans le cadre de l'éducation technique et professionnel, l'enseignement des langues régionales ou minoritaires comme partie intégrante du curriculum; ou

iv.   appliquer l'une des mesures visées sous (i) à (iii) ci-dessus au moins aux élèves qui le souhaitent - ou le cas échéant dont les familles le souhaitent - en nombre jugé suffisant;

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

360

e.   i.   prévoir un enseignement universitaire et d'autres formes d'enseignement supérieur dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires concernées; ou

    ii.   prévoir l'étude de ces langues, comme disciplines de l'enseignement universitaire et supérieur; ou

    iii.   si, en raison du rôle de l'État vis-à-vis de établissements supérieur, les alinéas (i) et (ii) ne peuvent pas être appliqués, encourager et/ou autoriser la mise en place d'un enseignement supérieur dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires, ou de moyens permettant d'étudier des langues à l'université ou dans d'autres établissements d'enseignement supérieur;

f.   i.   prendre des dispositions pour que soient donnés des cours d'éducation des adultes ou d'éducation permanente assurés principalement ou totalement dans les langues régionales ou minoritaires; ou

    ii.   proposer ces langues comme disciplines de l'éducation des adultes et de l'éducation permanente; ou

    iii.   si les pouvoirs publics n'ont pas de compétence directe dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes, favoriser et/ou encourager l'enseignement de ces langues dans le cadre de l'éducation des adultes et de l'éducation permanente.

g.   prendre des dispositions pour assurer l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la culture dont la langue régionale ou minoritaire est l'expression;

h.   assurer la formation initiale et permanente des enseignants nécessaire à la mise en oeuvre de ceux des paragraphes (a) à (g) acceptés par la partie;

i.   créer un ou plusieurs organes(s) de contrôle chargé(s) de suivre les mesures prises et les progrès réalisés dans l'établissement ou le développement de l'enseignement des langues régionales ou minoritaires et d'établir sur ces points des rapports périodiques qui seront rendus publics.

2.   En matière d'enseignement et en ce qui concerne les territoires autres que ceux sur lesquels les langues régionales ou minoritaires sont traditionnellement pratiquées, les parties s'engagent à autoriser, encourager ou mettre en place, si le nombre des locuteurs d'une langue régionale ou minoritaire le justifie, un enseignement dans ou de la langue régionale ou minoritaire aux stades appropriés de l'enseignement.

Les politiques linguistiques à l'école :contraintes et libertés découlant
des dispositions provinciales et nationales et des engagements internationaux

361

Issues of School Completion/Droupout: A Focus on Black Youth in Ontario Schools and Other Relevant Studies

Patricia Daenzar and George Dei

January 1994

Daenzer, Patricia and Dei, George.

Issues of School Completion/Dropout: A Focus on Black Youth in Ontario Schools and Other Relevant Studies, **January 1994.**
(Enjeux: finir ses études ou décrocher. Étude de la jeunesse noire dans les écoles de l'Ontario et autres études pertinentes), **janvier 1994.**

This paper is divided into six sections: (1) a review of the Canadian and American literature on issues of school completion focusing on Black youth; (2) recent literature and research that discusses the experiences of Black youth in Ontario; (3) research on curriculum issues, authority and power structure relationships, and social affiliation in schools; (4) analysis of recent research; (5) policy implications; and (6) recommendations.

The authors' research identifies the Black students' unending struggle to identify with a system set up for the particular purpose of preserving white dominance and privilege in Canada. Central to all minority students' perceptions of our schools is the lack of respect shown by teachers and the curriculum for the contribution of knowledge of other cultures. They also perceive that teachers need training and attitude change so that Black and other minority students are treated as "persons." "What other minority and Black students have in common is the investment in emotional energy during their challenge against exclusion and marginalization. Daenzer and Dei believe that policy directions must be in four areas: (1) access to enriched non-streamed education, (2) polycentric curricular content infusion, (3) support resources to redress the gaps in education endured by Black students to date, and (4) the establishment of an alternative educational environment for those Black students who would benefit from such an arrangement.

Their recommendations include the establishment of Black focussed schools, the adoption of an inclusive curriculum to encourage the development of a framework of inter-group tolerance and to promote the inclusion of anti-racist teaching in schools, an increase in professional opportunities for both Black and white educators to work toward developing their resources toward improved classroom nurturing and greater institutional inclusion, and the encouragement of greater Black parental involvement in the education process. The authors then provide a number of recommendations for measures to support students at risk of fading out.

* * * * *

Ce document comporte six parties: 1) une étude des textes canadiens et américains sur la question du cycle complet d'études avec polarisation sur la jeunesse noire; 2) les récents écrits et recherches qui parlent des expériences de la jeunesse noire en Ontario; 3) les recherches portant sur les questions liées au programme d'études, la structure de pouvoir et l'affiliation sociale dans les écoles; 4) l'analyse des dernières recherches; 5) les répercussions sur les politiques; 6) et les recommandations.

Les auteurs parlent de la lutte constante menée par les élèves noirs pour s'identifier à un système dont l'objectif particulier est la préservation de la domination et de la culture blanches au Canada. Le manque de respect du corps enseignant et du programme d'études vis-à-vis de l'apport d'autres cultures est mentionné comme un élément central par les élèves de toutes les minorités. Ces étudiants pensent aussi que le corps enseignant devrait suivre une formation et changer d'attitude de façon que les jeunes Noirs et les élèves appartenant à d'autres minorités se sentent valorisés en tant que «personnes». «L'énergie émotive consacrée à la lutte contre la marginalisation et l'exclusion, voilà ce que les étudiants noirs et ceux des autres minorités ont en commun.» Les auteurs pensent qu'il faut élaborer des politiques dans quatre domaines: 1) l'accès à une éducation décloisonnée et enrichie; 2) l'introduction d'un programme d'études polycentrique; 3) l'attribution de ressources auxiliaires pour résoudre les problèmes des étudiantes et étudiants noirs jusqu'à présent; 4) et la création d'un système d'éducation non traditionnel pour les élèves noirs qu'une pareille option pourrait intéresser.

Leurs recommandations incluent l'établissement d'écoles noires ciblées, l'adoption d'un programme d'études inclusif visant à favoriser la mise en place d'une structure préconisant la tolérance entre groupes et l'inclusion d'un enseignement anti-raciste dans les écoles, une multiplication des occasions professionnelles pour les éducatrices et éducateurs noirs et blancs d'utiliser leurs ressources pour mieux servir les besoins de toute la classe et déboucher sur une plus grande inclusion institutionnelle, et la participation accrue des parents noirs au système d'éducation. Les auteurs proposent plusieurs recommandations visant à aider les étudiantes et étudiants en difficulté.

Redevabilité et évaluation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREAMBLE

We are pleased to submit this paper on issues related to school completion/dropout with a focus on Black youth. The paper first provides an overview of the literature from Canada and the United States of America. **Section I** then addresses some recent and current work that illuminates and discusses the experiences of Black students in Ontario. **Section II** of this background paper draws on recent research findings and focuses on the more concrete discussion of school experiences and emphasizes curriculum issues, authority and power structure relationships, and social affiliation in schools. **Section III** provides analysis of the applicability of recent findings from research with Black youth to other ethno-cultural minority students. **Section IV** discusses policy implications and the Background Paper then concludes with the **Recommendations**.

We are using the term 'African' synonymously with 'Black' to refer to all people who trace some ancestral affinity to Continental Africa, i.e., peoples of African descent and all those who define themselves as Africans/Blacks/African-Canadians. We recognize the extreme variability within the Black/African community and we are not attempting to engage in essentialized discourse. However, we would want to stress that the discourses of Black youths on the issues that we have identified show a remarkable degree of cohesiveness.

FOREWORD

Research by race is still largely an unsettling issue for many Canadians therefore disaggregated research into issues affecting Black youth is relatively new to Canada. Two timely and important studies of Black students and Ontario educational systems are currently under way. A number of studies have undertaken surveys of premature school leavers with a focus on descriptive post-experience profiles. These studies have examined work patterns, family types and income levels and other basic demographic variables. No theory emerges from descriptive surveys although some studies have constructed correlational analyses between factors such as income levels (of parents) and level of risk or disadvantage of the school leaver. The most notable of these is the now dated Radwanski study which, among other analyses, draws relationships between economic disadvantage and risk of poor school performance and outcome. Radwanski's assumptions have been repeated in other studies. Many of these studies are methodologically limited for our purposes since the sample categories are "visible minority" or "racial minority". This conflating of the experiences of students from a wide range of cultures and ethno-specific groupings obscures scientific specificity and are thus not useful for understanding the Black experience. The relevance of studying experience by racial or cultural specificity will be discussed in Section 2.

**An Overview of the Literature from Canada
and the United States**

> Toronto Black participants did report more incidents of violence within the school
> that were associated with racism. Teachers were reported to be afraid to confront
> the students and were always trying to transfer (students) to another school.
> Participants mentioned that some students have dropped out because they are afraid
> of other students in the school. . . .
>
> *Qualitative Research on School Leavers*
> Statistics Canada: 1990, pp. 15-16.

The issue of high school dropouts has not been investigated as thoroughly or systematically in Canada as it has been in the United States. Canadian studies are limited by the absence of adequate social analysis. Most of the studies done in Canada have been commissioned by the Ministries of Education; some are more market driven like the study by Statistics Canada cited above. Consequently, many of the results have been reported in terms of labour market trends and the effects of inadequate schooling on the social welfare system.

Unlike the research environment in the United States, there is no readily accessible data base available in Canada from which one can construct studies. For example, many American researchers have used the *National Longitudinal and Labour Market Survey* or the *High School and Beyond Statistics* in their studies. There is no evidence which suggests the existence of similar databases in Canada. Therefore researchers are challenged by the lack of funding for ethno-specific research, and resistance in obtaining support for research by race and culture.

Canadian schools have not fully embraced the idea of recording and reporting data by race and ethnicity. At least they have not acknowledged this as common practice. This lack of ethno-specific disaggregation in Canadian demographic records obscures social trends and facts, particularly with regard to Blacks. Current research being undertaken by Dei and Daenzer will begin to address these gaps in knowledge, especially about dropouts.

In Canada, King, Warren, Michalski and Peart (1988) reached conclusions that were similar to those reached in the American studies. These studies focused on the relationship between high school completion and job market success and their analysis supports this issue. Similarly, Sullivan (1988) found that, "both dropouts and non-dropouts believe a good education is important in terms of job opportunities or advancement" (Sullivan, 1988, p. 19). These researchers also found a connection between job acquisition and possession of a diploma and also between possession of a diploma and the employment income received. Sullivan (1988) found that "non-dropouts' average income is $5000 more than that of dropouts" (Sullivan, 1988, p. 12). Concern is not only expressed for the limited earnings of dropouts, but also the limited career potential. Sullivan (1988), found that dropouts were less likely to be employed in professional, technical or cultural capacities. Instead they tended to end up in "dead end" jobs such as cashiers and other such service oriented positions (Sullivan, 1988).

The Canadian studies, like the American studies, stressed the need for caring adults, especially teachers. According to Quirotte, Saint-Denis & Huot (1990), "the relationship of students with teachers can play a very important role in encouraging students who are at risk of dropping out of school" (p. 15). This argument was also supported by King et al. (1988) who found that

> there is overwhelming evidence of a need for teachers to develop an improved level
> of sensitivity towards students emotional needs as well as academic needs. Teacher

sensitivity to students needs appear to be a critical factor in the retention of students
(p. 9).
Student-teacher relationships are particularly important because teachers exert considerable control and influence over children for approximately eight hours per day. To facilitate student success it is important for teachers to make sure that their influence is positive. Toward this end, Quirotte et al. (1990) suggest that teacher training programs should stress this fact to help teachers become more effective at retaining students in school.

The issue of student alienation is more fully explored in the American literature. Canadian studies make only casual reference to alienation and links it to a history of failure which leads to dropout. Dropping out was identified as a complicated "choice" faced by students. However, the research has found that dropouts feel a need to find acceptable justification for leaving school early (King et al., 1988). This means that with timely intervention the decision to drop out may be altered.

The characteristics of the typical dropout are similar in the Canadian and the American studies. Both Canadian and American studies also cite the same reasons for dropping out. The Canadian and American studies concur that more males than females drop out and students usually drop out between 16 and 19 years of age. Premature school leavers often have a history of academic failures and grade repetition. While some studies show a relationship between "family background" and premature school departure, we believe that this relationship is under-analyzed (Quirotte et al., 1990; Sullivan, 1988; King et al., 1988).

In Canada, "students who take courses at the Basic level tend to drop out at or near the sixteenth birthday, usually corresponding to Grade 10" (King et al., 1988, p. 16). A disproportionate number of Black students are placed in Basic education courses. This placement in basic education classes appears to diminish learning confidence and is often thought to be an unjustified assessment of the students' ability. Naturally, students who are thus unchallenged tend to drop out. Quirotte et al. (1990: 50) links the sense of failure often associated with basic program placement with "turning off" and leading to drop out.

King et al. (1988) provide a summary of the reasons many students cite for leaving school prematurely and many of these may be attributed to Black students. These include pregnancy, family values about higher education, behaviour problems, irrelevant courses and a lack of academic success" (King et al., 1988, p. 130).

Negative student-teacher relationships emerge as significant in the decision to drop out. The reason most often cited by dropouts was the lack of care or concern displayed by their teachers, and insensitive teachers and administrators (Sullivan, 1988; Quirotte et al.1990). Blacks in Ontario schools have repeated this concern in almost all studies reviewed. Students in an Edmonton study blamed this "unfriendly" atmosphere in their learning environment for pushing them out of school (Tanner 1990: p. 77). Fine and Rosenberg (1983) concur with the view that students leave school prematurely in reaction to their perception of unwholesome relationships which are manifestations of class differences (antagonisms) between teachers and students. For Black students this could be particularly instructive.

Substantial dropout rates, therefore, highlight the persisting connections between social origins, educational achievement and class destinations, and reinforce the suspicion that those same social origins are in some way responsible for the subsequent rejection of schooling (Tanner, 1990, p. 75).

Since relationships between many Black students and white teachers are problematic, the choice involved in dropping out is perhaps more illusory than real. There is evidence that schools probably play a more vigorous role in this outcome than is recognized (Tanner, 1990, p. 81; Fine and Rosenberg 1983; Wehlage and Rutter 1986).

The studies which focussed on prevention of dropout attempted to predict dropout behaviours and make predictions about dropout trends. Many of these studies focused on the characteristics of behaviour prior to dropout in an effort to establish when and how the process of dropping out occurs. In the Canadian research the focus has been on the role of school requirements and the students' ability to meet these requirements. This is limited for understanding the Black student experience since this deterministic methodology ignores the dynamism of a social environment characterized by racism. King's (et al. 1988) analysis is limited by this functionalist deterministic framework which ignores structural dysfunction in educational institutions, in the following:

> The most direct way to reduce the dropout rates is to increase the success rate. This can be done by increasing the motivation of students by means of more relevant programming, improving student/teacher rapport, improving the quality of guidance services and by reducing or changing expectations with respect to student evaluations (p. 131).

Relationship deficits may be addressed by mentoring. According to Quirotte et al. (1990) mentoring is effective at combatting the problem of early school leaving, is simple to implement, not too time consuming, and it is almost cost free. However, the strongest reason provided for choosing this strategy is that "the object of mentoring is to gradually establish a personal relationship with a student" (Quirotte et al., 1990, p. 68). Both the American and Canadian literature emphasize the importance of environment through the influence of teachers and administrators on students. When students feel unwanted or unimportant they drop out in large numbers. The environment factor is significant for Black learners.

SECTION I   A Summary of the Experiences of Black Students: Qualitative Studies and Surveys in Ontario

Two major research studies are currently under way in Ontario. The sample being studied is primarily Black and comprises both recent dropouts and students still in school. George Dei is the Principal Investigator of the study *Learning or Leaving: The Dropout Dilemma among Black Students in Ontario Public Schools* funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training.

This three-year study is drawing student samples from four (4) high schools in Toronto, and is investigating potential situational determinants of high school dropout by Black learners. Students will be tracked over the three-year period. The data collected through narratives of lived experiences by youth still in the school system, and a few who have dropped out will be analyzed within an anti-racist framework for relationships between participant attitudes and experiences, institutional power relations and outcomes and school retention.

The situational determinants analysis will include data collected from parents, administrators and teachers. Parental impressions will focus on socio-educational issues. Some teachers and a few administrators will be interviewed for verificational references of the student narratives. **Findings from this study will be available in 1995**.

Patricia Daenzer is the Principal Investigator of *Risk Indicators of Black High School Dropouts,* funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training and the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, and sponsored by the Canadian Alliance of Black Educators. The Study population is province-wide with samples drawn from Ottawa, Windsor, Toronto and Hamilton-Wentworth. In contrast to Dei's study, Daenzer's respondents are all recent dropouts.

The Risk Indicators study is obtaining in-depth structured interviews (204 variables) from approximately 300 recent Black dropouts from the four geographic centres. The respondent sample will include both Blacks born in Canada and immigrants. Each interview seeks episodic, impressionistic and demographic information for the preceding four years of the lives of the subjects. The quantitative multiple variate analyses will construct relationships between social, socio-educational, academic and familial experiences and the outcome of dropout. This study is also attempting to move beyond the frequent *a priori* assumptions about cognitive or socio-demographic stimuli for premature school departure and instead rely on the qualitative data to inform theoretical explanations for the dropout syndrome. Data is currently loaded for approximately 150 respondents from all four centres. Complete analysis will be available in late 1994.

During the last ten years, individual school Boards have engaged in informal studies and conferences hosting Black youth; findings from these have provided much insight. Black youth have been facilitated into organized focus groups to discuss issues related to their education and social lives. Separate conferences have been sponsored by various Boards of Education, and by Black community groups across Metropolitan Toronto, and Blacks have gathered from across Canada to discuss their condition in education. The City of North York Board of Education hosted approximately 200 students from the grades 7-12 group in 1991. Approximately 100 Black students from the Peel Board of Education were hosted by a Mississauga Caribbean organization in collaboration with the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services in 1992. The Scarborough Board of Education conducted extensive consultations with students, parents and educators in 1990-91. The Canadian Alliance of Black Educators (CABE) hosted a total of just over 300 high-school students from the Metropolitan Toronto area on three occasions; May 1991, October 1991, and May 1992. In addition, the Toronto Board of Education annually hosts over 100 Black students in early summer. CABE sponsored a national conference on "Blacks in Education" in November 1991, and again in 1993.

In 1986-87 there were also enquiries conducted by the Toronto Board of Education with parents, educators, principals and students serving as key informants. These represented students from 10 schools within the Toronto Board of Education, staff from 12 schools, principals and vice-principals from the 10 schools where student key informants originated, and 5 senior administrators from the Toronto Board office.

All these conferences and enquiries focused on providing a forum for Black youth to voice their issues, and for situational education on problem solving. Reports with recommendations have been produced, and these reports contain the perceptions of the Black youth on "issues". There is repetition of the concerns and issues across constituencies over time; that is, the same issues uttered in 1986 by students in the Toronto Board, for example, are repeated by North York and Scarborough students in 1991. These issues will be discussed in three broad thematic groups:

A.   **Curriculum negation of Black identity**
B.   **Alienation in the educational environment**
C.   **The troublesome issue of parental involvement**

A.   **Curriculum Negation of Black Identity**

An outpouring has come from older students who share the perception that they are a less valued and accepted group in schools where the majority of the school population is white. Students believe that white teachers ascribe inferior status to them, that the behaviours of teachers, principals and white students suggest that Blacks are unwelcome in schools, and that their Black identity is neither respected nor valued.

At the core of the Black identity issue is the frequently-articulated and well-documented

problem of the gaps in curricular content. Black contribution is not included with enough sophistication and generality to reassure Black students that their race and the achievements of their ancestors are respected. Blackness is neither an implicit nor explicit subject of wholesome intellectual exploration. This is not an altogether debated issue by education administrators. Over the last ten years a number of reference books and resource guides have been commissioned and produced. There is no evidence that this material has been adopted for consistent everyday use in the classroom.

The intellectual deprivation caused by this curricular gap diminishes the education of children of all races. While the most painful outcome is the sense of exclusion and devaluation experienced by Black learners, more insidious and indirect consequences may accrue to other children. For non-Black children sharing experiences and the learning environment with Black children, there must exist a conceptual void about Blackness.

Black children then may well have become "objects of curiosity" about which there is no useful knowledge. In addition, a hierarchy of the races has been established by this focus on Whiteness and exclusion of Blackness (with degrees of references to those in between). The danger of this is that many children are likely educated about Blackness, Black people, and Black contribution to human civilization by random media exaggeration. Racism and racist stereotyping could well flourish from such unsupervised learning experiences. It is also difficult if not impossible to teach the most treasured human values (respect, collectivity, mutual support, integrity) in such an environment.

Many schools have pointed to experiences which focus on cultural awareness or cultural celebration. While celebrating can be quite joyous and fun, it is not clear how children can celebrate what they do not understand. The real need of Black students is inter-group respect, inclusion and curricular recognition of Blacks as a contributing people to humanity. This is quite different from the occasional cultural forays with a focus on national foods, dress and music.

Black students' narrated experiences suggest that there is a need for two concrete but related areas of change. The subject matter "inter-racial tolerance" must be included in the curriculum to be taught at all levels; this must be mandatory. Inter-racial tolerance must become a discussion at all grades. The focus of this discussion must be on awareness which promotes mutual respect, the pain of racism, equality of students, the right of non-white students to share equally in a pleasant learning environment. These are not difficult principles to teach, they are similar to the values by which many families are organized and guided. Teachers should receive direction and assistance in including this discussion in every class.

The second need is for teachers with an expertise in anti-racist teaching. This is different from the ability to introduce and create awareness about the need for students to respect each other, race or culture notwithstanding (inter-racial tolerance). The specialist in anti-racist teaching must have expertise in creating the model classroom environment where racial differences are central rather than incidental. The centrality of the diversity will be the positive learning framework. Students will be encouraged to explore differences (to deconstruct and diminish myths), to openly ask questions (to demystify), to use race and cultural differences as the subject of study (to promote curricular inclusion: e.g. white secondary school students can research the inventions of Black scientists: Grade one students can write stories about "if I were a Black/White person". etc.) The main teaching goal of the anti-racist specialist must be to increase the comfort level of students with the concepts of race, racism and diversity, and to provide knowledge about non-white peoples in a safe, structured and supervised environment. The primary educational objective of the introduction of the anti-racist specialist must be to shift ideas and knowledge about racial and cultural contributions and differences to centre stage in education.

B.   Alienation in the Educational Environment

Studies about the education of children have stressed that providing a safe and comfortable learning environment for students enhances learning comfort. The reports reviewed that speak to the experiences of Black students contain comments, repeated by students over the years, that often they find the school environment hostile. Hostile in these cases appears to mean the sense of uncomfortable interpersonal relationships with teachers, administrators and white students. Students reported that teachers single them out for stricter codes of behaviour, ignore racist incidents, and fail to treat them with the same courtesies and respect which are extended to many white students.

Black students reported perceptions are that for much of the time they live with extraordinary constraints in their schools which seemed to single them out for treatment not meted out to white students. They have reported that they are excluded from the main school activities and clubs/committees. In attempting to construct their own environments of nurture by behaviours which signal cultural affiliation (wearing of roots colours and other differential modes of dress, starting clubs) these attempts were rejected by school officials. Their attempts to form clubs or social groups were resisted in ways which led them to believe that school officials were suspicious of their coming together. Many felt no sense of belonging to the social environment of the school; they articulated the sentiments of onlookers rather than participants.

Black educators have reported that when they have attempted to create a racially/culturally familiar environment in their classrooms or schools in order to increase the comfort level of Black students (hanging pictures or posters of Blacks on the wall, displaying books by or about Blacks) their white colleagues have often been unsupportive or openly resistive to such measures. These reports are isolated but their importance as a new symptom of "turf control" or "attempts to preserve the status quo" should not be underestimated. It may well be that increasing numbers of Black teachers will attempt to alter the school environment as a gesture of welcome for Black students, and responses to such action may vary.

The issue of strained relationships between Black students and white administrators/teachers may really be not unlike social behaviour in the wider Canadian context. The gestation period for developed inter-racial inter-relationships varies depending upon a range of circumstances. Two factors are different in the school environment. The students may need to feel readily accepted and liked; the teacher is expected to have skills for facilitating social interaction. If the student fails to get that immediate message of welcome and acceptance then feelings of alienation may develop. And alienation leads to student disengagement from school.

Another form of alienation exists for Black students. Students reported that when they attempt to form social clubs these attempts are greeted with suspicion. In their perception this suspicion is based upon stereotypical notions about Blacks. They cite instances of ridicule when they wear clothing which reflects African heritage, and are discouraged from speaking in patois, or Caribbean dialect. The determination of Black students to resist what they see as the de-emphasis of non-white cultures is strengthened by such opposition.

The absence of the "familiar" in the curriculum heightens this sense of unwelcome and alienation. Both Black educators and students believe that schools resist the inclusion of curricular content which is racially and culturally inclusive. In response to this a number of Saturday morning schools run by Black educators exist in Metropolitan Toronto. These schools provide both cultural education and offer remedial/supportive academic education. Most are run by volunteers; they are poorly resourced. A rough estimate would suggest that approximately 400-500 Black students are registered in these schools across greater Metropolitan Toronto. There are students who are turned away from these schools because of their incapacity to enrol additional members. These racially-driven educational infrastructures have existed in Toronto for more than 20 years. Their growth in

numbers is more recent.

Saturday morning schools serve two clear purposes yet their existence symbolize a growing tension between the Black community and the "mainstream" systems. Their primary purpose is to provide Black students with a sense of belonging and pride in their African Heritage. Secondly, they are a valiant attempt to motivate and challenge Black students toward excellence. All evidence suggests that these schools are successful in keeping youth connected to education.

The contradictory views/perceptions/tensions related to the existence of these schools reflects the growing pains of a society which continues to struggle with the dual ideal of integrating newcomers, yet permitting them institutional opportunities for ethno-specific cultural expression. On the one hand, Black educators who participate at these schools feel a sense of control over the shaping of the young Black cultural mind. The comment that only Blacks can educate about Black culture is frequently heard.

Another view exists. Saturday morning schools reflect the failure of the mainstream school system to meet the needs of Black students. Parents and educators believe that as taxpayers they are cheated. They pay for a system of education which benefits others, but not sufficiently Black students. Not only must they live with this notion that the system fails to give them returns on their education investment made through the tax system, but they must in turn volunteer — provide remedial service without remuneration or adequate resources — to remediate this structural failure.

White teachers are not altogether insensitive to these struggles to integrate Blacks into the school system. Many acknowledge that there are tensions and are willing to seek ways of developing their teaching styles to effect more harmonious relationships in schools. They have, for example, requested from the Canadian Alliance of Black Educators (CABE) assistance in the form of conferences to speak about the issue of "teaching the Black child".

C.   The Troublesome Issue of Parental Involvement

Parent networks such as the Organization of Parents of Black Children (OPBC) should be commended for their long struggle to resolve issues of inequity in the education of Black students in the City of Toronto. The Black teachers and Black parents who volunteer at the Saturday morning schools across Metropolitan Toronto also deserve recognition. Many Black parents individually advocate on their children's behalf and give guidance, support and encouragement. But in most reports reviewed Black students have said that their parents do not take sufficient interest in their education. If indeed Black parents are not paying enough attention to educational issues, this raises questions about gaps in the socialization process of Black youth and children. This issue deserves examination.

The oldest parent group, and perhaps the most recognized, is in the City of Toronto. It is legitimate in that its existence is time-tested and it has been recognized by the Toronto Board of Education as a viable community resource. But the existence of such a group insufficient for responding to or assessing the merits of the comments made by Black students. It is not known, for example, what impacts parental group formation and development in other areas of the province.

The issues raised are from students across Greater Metropolitan Toronto (GTA). But we know that there is no consistency across geographic regions in parent group formation and behaviour, nor are there generalizable features of student-school-parent phenomena. Neither is there any evidence which suggests that membership in a group such as OPBC means that parents will respond to their children in a particular way. It also does not presuppose that the existence of the group means that sufficient numbers of parents are able to access active membership, and influence schools or school boards.

It is clear that the evidence presented in the reports is a call for help from Black students.

The students are identifying parent/child(ren) relationships as problematic. They have said that they feel alienated, and isolated. They also blame other sources (discussed below) for these conditions. These views are widespread, generalizable to other parts of the province, and consistent over time. These comments are found in reports from the early 1980s to the present time.

It would require a different academic exercise to engage in analysis about, a) the role and function of ethno-specific community groups such as the OPBC; b) the relationship between inter-generation connectedness and role-appropriate socialization; c) the relationship between socio-economic status of Black parents and community and socio-political status (Daenzer is currently conducting a study on this last issue in the Hamilton-Wentworth area). What has been postulated is a relationship between student/parental connectedness and socio-economic status.

The Radwanski report (1987) isolates poverty as a dominant variable in premature school leaving. It is not known what relationship exists between socio-economic status and students who claim the absence of parental support. Radwanski suggests that students who drop out shared characteristics which included poverty, and low academic achievement of parents. It is possible that the students who claim that parents are not supportive of their educational process are students whose parents have low educational attainment. However, some immigrant parents may have a low level of education because of lack of opportunity rather than lack of ability or desire, and these may be highly supportive of their children's efforts.

Black immigrant parents may well have other social patterns which preclude involvements with educational institutions. Daenzer (1989) has shown that the post-migration integration process of racial minority adult immigrants is fraught with obstacles. Labour-market adjustment becomes the most serious challenge to post-migration life. Other activities such as involvement with schools, advocating for their children's rights, and active membership in parents' groups are perforce often secondary.

Finally, however, there may well be parents who either trust the educational institutions to educate their children, who see education as the business of educators, or who are not socialized to become involved in the process of the educational guidance of their children. There have been reports by some students that their parents have not been welcomed with respect at their schools when they have ventured to visit and speak to teachers.

The experiences and social practices of parents across Metropolitan Toronto are not consistent. While many parents are involved the educational process of their children, the concern is with those who are perceived by students to be uninvolved. The empowerment of parents to increase their involvement in the education of their children is as much a family issue as it is a community issue. Without meaningful parental involvement, Black students will continue to experience estrangement from schools they believe to be hostile.

SECTION II **Black Learners in Metropolitan Toronto: Findings from a Current Toronto Study of Black Learners with a Focus on:**

> **A) School Experiences**
> **B) The Economics of Schooling**
> **C) School Authority and Power Structures:**
> **Issues of Social Affiliation**
> **D) Curriculum Issues and Representation in the Schools**

The following information and analysis is drawn from students' narratives from Dei's study (1991-94) with Black learners in five Metropolitan Toronto Schools, *Understanding Students Disengaging from School from Black/African-Canadian Students' Perspectives*. The study is

developing a profile of Black students who may be at risk of dropping out. Most respondents were still in school at the time of the interviews; most are Black. A small control group of non-Black students were interviewed as a means of cross-checking some of the data. The findings from this study are consistent with those discussed above, but of particular importance since the sample is largely Black and quite local, and since most Blacks live in Greater Metropolitan Toronto.

The cumulative demographic profile of the samples is representative of the larger minority youth population. Some of the respondents live independently of family; they have no home in the conventional sense of the word. Some have been physically and emotionally abused by a parent/guardian/caregiver or their families have actually disintegrated due to the harsh economic realities. Others live with parents or guardians, and many are from economically-deprived families. The sample includes both immigrant and Canadian-born students.

School Experiences

From students' vantage points the "dropout" is the student who enrolled to be at school but then quit or failed to graduate for many reasons. Students see "dropping out" as the final act of a series of in-school and off-school developments/experiences that define their ability to engage and disengage in a school's culture. In many ways, these developments are moments/events/shifts in the schooling and learning experiences of students that gradually and cumulatively lead students to fade out of the school system.

Students include in their reasons for considering leaving school factors such as teacher disrespect, being turned off by a teacher, a sense of being overly-visible (i.e., targeted) for misconduct by school personnel, teacher inaccessibility for help, a depersonalized school environment, absence of adult encouragement and expectation that they will succeed, a sense of invisibility (that no one would notice or care if they dropped out anyway), teenage pregnancy, a need to help the family financially (which places schooling as a lesser priority), pressure at home to succeed and a feeling of inadequacy in terms of school work.

When students admit they have considered dropping out of school at one time or other, such revelations are usually followed up with a recognition of the importance of staying in school. This is articulated in terms of a desire to learn, an awareness of the state of the labour market and the economy, parents' desire that their children fare better in life, a need for some structure in their day, and an awareness of the need to succeed as Black/African Canadians. Students admit that, by dropping out, they place themselves at a social disadvantage. The narratives suggest that when the student is considering leaving school it is often the intervention of one caring adult in his or her life that makes the positive difference.

Many students who dropped out and then dropped back in, accept individual responsibility for some actions. But these students, at the emotional level, feel the pain of neglect. They share the aspirations, hopes and dreams of many Canadians to be respected and acknowledged by family, school and society. Many of them expressed high educational and professional aspirations when asked to reveal their life goals and ambitions.

There is, however, evidence of cognitive dissonance. Students question whether these aspirations are attainable at all, particularly if things remain the way they are. Every-day messages conveyed to Black youth by various institutions of society legitimate their peripheralization.

The Economics of Schooling

Students generally acknowledge the impact that economic hardships have on schooling. They feel the school environment "favours" rich students and that rich and powerful parents have influence at schools. They express a reality of deprivation. Economic background and hardships

appear to impact students' motivation and school achievement in both negative and positive ways.

Current harsh economic realities mean that students who find jobs want to hang on to them and continue to work while going to school. It is very apparent that, unless economic conditions change for the better, the problems of schooling are going to get worse for many Black youths. While it is possible that the current unfavourable economic climate may influ-ence a few students to stay in school longer or drop back in, there are other students who find deplorable economic conditions as legitimate grounds to question the relevance of education.

School Authority and Power Structures: Issues of Social Affiliation

Black/African-Canadian youth in this study are generally having a "tough time" dealing and/or coming to grips with authority structures in the school system. In general they perceive the school system as more interested in maintaining authority and discipline than in providing education. They also complain about the lack of respect for each other in the school system, both between teachers and students and among students and peers. Many of the Black students studied believe that the discussion about discipline cannot be conducted outside the context of mutual respect; between those who wield power and authority and those subjected to it. Students report being less co-operative with teachers who are disrespectful to them and appear disinterested in their welfare.

Students react negatively to the institutional power structure of the school and its rationality of dominance. Some students employ behavioral tactics that constitute part of a "culture of resistance" which is anti-school. We believe that it is not coincidence that many of the students who fade out of school also exhibit what school authorities also see as "problem behaviours" (e.g., truancy, acts of delinquency, or even disruptive behaviour). These students reject schooling provided in an authoritarian fashion.

In discussing what they like about their schools, students' narratives suggest a longing for a feeling of belonging, community, mutual respect and appreciation of each other's contributions. Such an atmosphere would go a long way to engage the students in the schooling and educational processes. Included on their list of most valued aspects of their schools are the rich diversity of the school, and the extra-curricular activities which provide opportunities for them to celebrate and appreciate their sense of self-worth and group accomplishments. In recalling their most memorable school experiences, students generally referred to occasions or events that had to do with the school's or their peers' recognition of their achievements.

Conversely students' dislikes about their schools generally have to do with the use of school authority and power. They see this use of power as an instrument, used consciously and unconsciously, to put students down, silence, deny or negate their self-worth and group and cultural identities, and their pressing concerns. Two particular power and authority issues tend to have a deleterious effect of students' learning processes.

Firstly, students generally expressed the opinion that there are indeed a small number of teachers in their schools who make attending and learning worthwhile. These are considered their most favourite courses, and best learning experiences. However, students showed much emotion and anger when discussing unfavourable school experiences particularly with regard to the low expectations some teachers have of specific Black students, and low opinions of Black learning potential in general. Students in this study understand this low teacher expectations as part of the deeply-held beliefs about people who are non-White. During our interviews students identified particular teachers " . . . making fun of students and making students . . . feel dumb". Low teacher expectations adds to the bitterness students feel about the negation and devaluing of their experiences, histories and knowledges, as well as the contributions they bring to the school.

In addition, sexist and discriminatory behaviours in the schools are prohibitive to students'

learning. Black female students in particular complained of offensive language directed against them, and of name calling and sexist jokes by their male peers through a non-Canadian vernacular/dialect which is not easily comprehensible to most school authorities, who are often unable to respond and take action against these offenses due to their lack of understanding. Black females experience further alienation when their legitimate concerns are unredressed. They listed these concerns among the sources of emotional and psychological conflicts and other health distress which cause them to contemplate disengaging from school.

Curriculum Issues and Representation in the Schools

The issues of representation in school curriculum and of the marginalization and alienation of students are crucial in the challenges of developing an inclusive school environment. Students are most critical of the school system which they assess as monocentric. The European legacy/experience is dominant in classroom discourses and texts. Occasionally references are made to Blacks in classroom discussions and the focus is usually on the fact of being Black, being Black and female, or being Black (or other minority) and poor living in Canadian society. This discourse sets Black students apart in a most negative way.

Black Students would like to see positive and accurate curricular input which reflects their and ancestral history and cultural heritage. They complain of being affronted by the presentation of "history of Blacks in Canada" and Euro-American society largely from the "victim's stance", as in slavery. They believe it is essential to include in such presentations the corresponding critical periods of political resistance in this history of slavery. In general they want a more meaningful connection between what they learn in school and their actual lived experiences such as discussions about racism and social marginalization. The negation of their real experiences creates a dissonance between their education and their social lives, heightens their alienation and increases the likelihood of disengagement from the system.

Black students' narratives reflect existences of painful struggles. While they try to identify with what is taught in the classrooms they struggle to maintain their individual and group cultural identities. The struggle is to remain unassimilated but recognized. They fail in the latter. Many times their resistant actions come into conflict with school authorities and even with their peers. Their narratives are replete with remarks about "acting white", "what it means to be "Black" or "African", "a Black male" "a Black female". In the struggle to keep their identity "uncontaminated" intra-group tensions erupt among those who are succeeding and those thought to be betraying the Black cultural purity ideal. While much of this intra-group identity-driven struggle is common to the adolescent passage it also symptomizes a more serious social fragmentation common to Black youth. It is the acting out and development of distancing between *self* and the *other*, and between *us* and *them*. This racism syndrome is influenced in large measure by the specificity of Black students' locations in the school.

Students attribute their unsuccessful struggle to negotiate their individual and group cultural identities in schools to a very narrow educational curriculum. There is some acknowledgement that events like "Black History Month" while appropriate, are inadequate for addressing Black student's marginalization. Students define their marginalization in the context of both the formal curriculum and the unwritten code of acceptable behaviour and practices in the school system.

Many students make a simple connection of the problem of school disengagement and the lack of representation of Black role models in the schools. Students want to see more Black teachers in the Canadian school system. But a few students are quick to add that having Black teachers would not necessarily make a major difference unless it is accompanied by other fundamental changes in the school system. And while many students see the Black teacher as an important role model, a few emphasize the necessity for the Black teacher to have a social perspective they can identify with.

The idea of a Black focussed school excites many students. Discussions about the need for Black teachers are complemented by students expressed desire for "our school". While there may be some contradictions and ambiguities in students' articulations of what is such a school would look like or should be, there is basic understanding that the "Black school" would definitely be different from mainstream schools. A critical analysis of students' views on this subject reveals a yearning for a school which they can identify with in terms of both the official and the hidden curricula, including the school culture, classroom pedagogy, learning styles and the make-up of the teaching and administrative staff.

Black youths do not see the school as the sole source of concern and site for political action and social response. Students understand the importance of the family and, particularly, parental guidance in their schooling. However, some students experience stressful relationships with parents which prohibit seeking or receiving help with school work from them. Other students are reluctant to make additional demands on parents burdened by their own stresses, and some feel their parents would not be able to help, because of low educational attainment. Others would prefer not to raise the issue of school work with parents in case it gives rise to parental pressure for academic excellence. In general the Black students in these narratives show an understanding and appreciation for the daily social and economic hardships their parents/guardians endure. Many are working at two or three jobs to maintain a basic subsistence level; a reality which motivates many Black students to stay in school so that they might transcend the economic conditions of their parents.

In the absence of role models and other advocates, however much Black students understand the socio-economic realities of their parents they still need them to take a more proactive involvement and engagement in their schooling. They do not want parents to wait till problems arise before responding or getting involved. They want parents to be forceful and relentless in demanding meaningful changes in the educational system. Students feel that better partnerships could emerge between parents and children if parents listened more and acted as sounding boards while they worked through things in their minds.

**SECTION III   The Applicability of These Findings to Students from
                Other Ethno-Cultural Groups.**

Our justification for disaggregating the experiences of students by race in educational research is accountable to the social reality of racial and ethnic stratification, among other dynamics. The system of social stratification compartmentalizes students into dominant host-group whites (class designations notwithstanding), and others. Otherness becomes both a social category with identity properties and an experience. Central to our research are questions of how Black students are situated within the social system, and what factors determine and maintain their social existence. The imposition of a designated otherness on Blacks and others is referred to by Daenzer as extraneous identity formation (EIF). Understanding how this identity is maintained, reproduced, rewarded or disprivileged in the process of education is our work.

Race and relatedly ethnicity, however, are not the only EIF criteria. In the case of Ontario students another complicating factor is the effect of immigration on EIF. Race and ethnicity assume additional contours of complexity in the EIF process when the students are immigrants, and particularly when they are victims of migration stress. Marginalization in the school system could then have a two-pronged impetus range. Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok (1987) show, for example, that in Canada voluntary immigrants tend to experience less acculturation stress than do refugees. Among the effects of acculturation stress, they note

lowered mental health status (specifically confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings
of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, *and identity*

confusion [emphasis added] (p. 492).

Many immigrants come from countries devastated by civil war or governed by harsh dictatorships in which normal civil rights are non-existent. They are therefore, according to Berry et al. (1987), more likely than others to suffer heightened acculturation stress and the accompanying identity confusion. Some of these immigrants will have undergone significant dangers and hardships in leaving their homeland and making the journey to North America. When these same minority students encounter alienation and discriminatory attitudes in the school system, their experience of marginalization is intensified. Studies, such as ours, which investigate how alienation is reproduced, the consequences of social stereotyping, and the outcomes of social distancing, are useful for understanding other minority experiences in the EIF process.

In the same way that Black learners find social gaps between the alienating Eurocentric curriculum and their lived experiences, acculturative stress is "greater among (minority) cultural groups where the gap between the traditional and imposed (host) culture was greatest" (Graham, 1981, p. 27). (Degen (1991) found comparable effects with aboriginal students "migrating" from Northern Manitoba to the University of Manitoba.) As with Black students in some studies, some responded by assimilating rapidly and adopting the values, growth patterns and norms of their new home. But again, similar to Black students, others seek security in holding ever more tightly to their traditional values and customs. Like Black students who believe that they are ostracized for their hold on their culture (wearing roots colours, playing their music, speaking in their vernacular), minority immigrant students are also set apart by their language proficiency. Graham (1981) emphasizes that

> Of all the factors in the acculturative process, English language proficiency or its deficiency appears to be most critical. Feelings of being understood are juxtaposed with feelings of acceptance and appreciation. The antithesis is self-doubt, confusion and frustration with anxious depression the more profound result (p. 24).

Since non-white or minority students' language and self and group cultural identities have largely been constructed outside that of mainstream white, Canadian society, our research findings suggest that the experiences of minority youths is best understood when grounded in the framework of institutionalized peripheralization and marginalization germane to education.
By analyzing the subjugated knowledges and discourses of students, we begin to uncover how social difference, based on dynamics such as race, ethnicity, socio-economic class, gender, as well as history restricts the educational and life opportunities of minority students. We also learn how the process of education engages and privileges certain groups, whilst disengaging and disempowering others.

The processes of schooling undermines minority students' subjectivities and their lived experiences, regardless of whether they are poor, middle-class, male, female, single parent, immigrant or Canadian-born. For many of these students the subjection to racial, class and/or gender, linguistic or ethnic subordination, whether in the schools or in the wider society, denies them respect, power and privilege by delegitimizing their individual and collective experiences.
Our study of non-Black minority students in schools (in part, as control group and to cross-check Black students' accounts and narratives) shows these students also questioning of authority, institutionalized power structures, and the marginalization of their histories in the curriculum content. The reality is that for these students there is an unending struggle to identify with a system which was set up for the particular purpose of preserving white dominance and privilege in Canada. This means that every minority student is potentially "at risk," given the incessant struggle to identify with, and develop a sense of connectedness to, the current school system.

When asked about the things they would want to change about their schools, non-Black minority students also articulate a desire to change teacher attitude and training in order that students

be treated as "persons", the improvement of student-teacher and student-student relations to increase the level of respect for each other, the inclusion of other cultures' contribution to knowledge in the school curriculum for the benefit of *all* students, and to allow every student a fair chance at focusing fully on the task of learning. What other minority and Black students have in common is the investment in emotional energy during their challenge against exclusion and marginalization.

SECTION IV Policy Implications

Introduction

The research and surveys into the experiences of Black students provide findings which are consistent across North America. In Ontario schools Black students cite marginalization, dissatisfaction with curricular content, alienation leading to premature withdrawal from school and interpersonal tensions which extend beyond the normal adolescent intergroup dynamics. The analysis shows that these experiences are, in large measure, undergirded by the inability of educational institutions to effect synergy between the demographic and social changes of schools, and pedagogical practices and attitudinal changes of educators and educational administrators. This dysfunction which causes much distress for Black and other minority students has been described as racism on the part of the institutions, and has led to rebelliousness and resistance on the part of Black students. In summary, Black students exist in a social educational environment which is unhealthy; their opportunities for benefitting from education in such an environment is greatly diminished.

The task of addressing racism is, however, by no means a task only for schools and Boards of Education. Similarly, the explanation for the tensions which manifest through Black students in the educational environment are not solely attributable to educational systems' dysfunction. Education's portion of the task of effecting balance between students'/parents' entitlements and expectations and the educational institutions' responsibilities and delivery practices must begin through educational policies which address changes in the social climate and reforms in educational delivery.

Policy direction must in the short term address **four discreet areas:**
- Access to enriched non-streamed education,
- Polycentric curricular content infusion,
- Support resources to redress the gaps in education endured by Black students to date, and
- The establishment of an alternative educational environment for those Black students who would benefit from such an arrangement.

Towards a Broad Policy of Equal Citizenship

The narrative discourses of Black/African-Canadian students reveal deep concerns about the structural processes of schooling that tend to engage some students while disengaging others. The problem of Black students' disengagement from school must be shared between parents, educators and the Ministry. Changes must occur in teaching, administration and in teacher education. Parent-school relationships must become part of the educational process with contractual accountability.

A policy direction of partnership will benefit education in a number of ways. The vision of public schooling for the future is one in which there will be many recognized, legitimate shareholders. Students should be able to own and control their own knowledges at school so that their contributions will be valued and they will feel that their self-worth is beyond reproach. Parents, also, must be invited to become partners in education based upon the recognition that parents are stakeholders with knowledge and resources which few schools can afford to purchase. They could contribute to

conflict resolution, community building within schools, and supplementing gaps in curricular resources.

Students' concerns include issues about curricular content, pedagogical methodology, and teacher/student relationships, particularly with regard to teacher expectations. Their interpretation is that social bias corrupts the curriculum and the schooling process as a whole. They believe that impediments are imposed on their right to education and consequently the fulfilment of their ambitions and adaptation in society. Policies which permit streaming are an example of such impediments. A disproportionate number of Black students are unjustifiably streamed into Basic education.

The Black students' sense of identity in the school system is related to the conviction with which they will take their places in Canadian society as persons of equal value. For too many of our students the schooling process erodes rather than builds identity. This occurs in the delivery of content which negates Blacks and fails to legitimate their life experiences. For education to become relevant and citizenship-enhancing, it must capture the totality of our lived experiences. These experiences must be recognised and legitimised in their own right and not simply through a comparison with others. A policy compelling curricular integrity will enhance the citizenship status and educational life chances of Black students. In addition, an increase in the numbers of Black educators will send positive messages to Black students and provide some role modelling. The presence of role models will begin to address the identity gaps experienced by some students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

We applaud the recent legislation and administrative direction of the Ministry of Education and Training (MET) to move anti-racist education into the priority agenda. This has inspired tremendous public respect and trust. Our recommendations speak to issues which will contribute toward the further development of an educational environment which is seen to be just, and which will enable Black students, who are currently stressed and disadvantaged by the system, to benefit more fully from their education.

In putting forth the following recommendations we are informed by a theory of inclusiveness in education. This idea of "inclusiveness" within the educational system embodies **racial tolerance leading to equity**, **representation**, and **diversity**. Racial tolerance leading to equity involves dealing with the qualitative value of justice. Representation means having a multiplicity of perspectives entrenched as part of the academic discourse, knowledge and texts. Diversity demands the social construction and structuralization of difference within the school system, and in the wider society (e.g., issues of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, age and ability).

Recommendations: Group A

With the recognition that it will be some time before large-scale institutional changes can occur to benefit disadvantaged Black students, we recommend that

1. The 1992 recommendation of the 4-level Government and Community Working Group on African Canadians that **Black Focussed Schools be Established** in each of the six Metropolitan Toronto municipalities . . . be acknowledged as a priority and be implemented with swiftness. This step should proceed with the support of Black community consultations.

2. The MET undertake research of the Black community Saturday school phenomenon with a view to either:
   a) transferring this model to an alternative school for Black students, or

b) developing a benchmark for understanding the gaps in the mainstream educational system, and determining action thereof.

Recommendations: Group B

To facilitate the development of a framework of inter-group tolerance and to promote the inclusion of anti-racist teaching in schools, it is recommended that:

1. Pending structural changes which must flow from the above, the MET through its Anti-Racism office re-issue with bold media coverage a statement of educational inclusion which would include attention to the following:

    - the usefulness of cultural expression in schools
    - the definition of an environmentally healthy learning institution
    - freedom of cultural expression
    - the imperative for moving toward an anti-racist learning environment in the Province

2. The MET direct all boards of education to instruct schools to draft for discussion an all-level curriculum infusion plan on the subject inter-racial tolerance. The first draft of such a document should emanate from teams drawn from individual schools.

3. The MET initiate a curriculum review process for the specific purpose of ensuring that Ontario schools (regardless of the racial and ethnic composition of the student body) teach inter-racial tolerance to all grade levels.

4. The MET in collaboration with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship offer annual awards to schools (for the next five years) which are outstanding in their creativity in the design and delivery of the core curriculum subject of inter-racial tolerance.

5. The faculties of education provide evidence to the MET that relevant core curricular content exists on the subject of inter-racial tolerance.

6. The MET encourage in-service training for all teachers to improve upon their teaching and pedagogical skills to take into account issues of diversity ·in the classroom.

7. The MET encourage in-service training for administrative staff on anti-racism and equity issues.

8. The MET in collaboration with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship provide made-in-Ontario demonstration teaching resources on the subject of racial tolerance: Such material, upon approval, will become mandatory professional development resources. Use of this material must be monitored.

9. The MET requisition a complete set of resource material for use in elementary and secondary schools across the province. Such material must emphasize racial tolerance, the essentialness of immigration to the country's destiny, the contribution of the diverse groups, and relevant sections of the Charter of Rights and Freedom.

10. The MET produce a series of made-in-Ontario-schools vignettes portraying young Blacks/whites talking about the pain/shame of racism, and mixed groups discussing the importance of racial tolerance, and distribute for Province-wide multi-media use for a period of five years, and then to be reviewed.

11. The MET, through its Anti-Racism and Equity office, establish the position of one Ombudsperson in each family of schools, or an approximation thereof, to hear grievances from students with regard to racism, violence, and gender aggravation. Such a person should report directly to the Chair of the Board of Education, but must be able to report directly to the Ministry when contentious circumstances arise.

12. A directive to schools to establish complaints and suggestions boxes so that students may anonymously drop complaints about school practices and hurtful issues and suggestions for improvements.

13. The delegation to Student Councils of the task of reviewing these suggestions and bringing them to the attention of school administrators with an agreed-upon system of follow-up.

Recommendations: Group C

To increase professional opportunities for both Black educators and white educators to work toward developing their resources toward improved classroom nurturing and greater institutional inclusion, it is recommended that:

1. The MET support the Ontario Teachers Federations in the creation of development programs which have the specific focus of inter-racial dialogue on anti-racist teaching.

2. The MET establish an Advisory Committee for Black Learners to assist selected schools (where necessary) in the direction of greater social comfort with engaging Black students and maximizing their educational attainment.

3. The MET engage the services of academics in studying, and generating knowledge about the developmental processes, causal relationships within, and phenomenology of Canadian racist educational institutional environments.

Recommendations: Group D

To facilitate greater Black parental involvement in the education process it is recommended that:

1. The MET in collaboration with Ontario Ministry of Citizenship make funding available to sustain Black parent groups in each family of schools and allocate space for use by these parents, similar to the common rooms used by teachers.

2. Black students be awarded academic recognition plus a minimal stipend for coordinating the parent groups in their family of schools: six to eight students be assigned (based upon interest and suitability) the responsibility for these groups. The supervision of the students must be by a Black educator.

3. Black students and parents be encouraged to become creative in the areas of developing parents' advocacy skills, community development skills, and ways of sustaining and strengthening school-parents links.

4. Black community professionals and post-secondary students be invited to supplement the development of these groups.

5. Black students have significant responsibility for the administration of the parent-school linkages.

Recommendations: Group E

In order to increase supports to students who are at risk of fading out, it is recommended that:

1.   Re-entry programs be established to help fade outs/dropouts drop back in and to re-accommodate students.

2.   Bridging or similar programs be established for students who are stressed and challenged by the transition from elementary school to high school.

3.   The MET encourage new linkages with community "shelters"/co-op houses as boarding houses for high school students experiencing problems at home.

4.   Unemployed educators be recruited as teaching assistants to assist teachers in the provision of remedial lessons/classes for students who need extra help.

5.   The MET encourages the expansion of the summer job placement program for every high school student that would serve as community service and also count towards the completion of their high school programs.

6.   Post-secondary students be invited to assist in developing centres at the schools where students can get tutorial help with their school/home work after school hours.

7.   The MET establishes co-op/apprenticeship/traineeship programs in every school to provide **all** students with hands-on skills (modelled on the CYF program).

8.   The MET institutes tutoring and mentoring programs in all schools to pair Black youths with mentors from the community who will assist youths in setting academic and career goals.

9.   The MET promotes the establishment of "positive peer culture" programs in each school to pair students who are experiencing academic problems with academically successful students.

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Equity, Social Difference, and Ontario Schools

A collection of 14 papers.
Contributed by faculty and graduate students of the
Faculty of Education, York University.

Summary by
Curt Dudley-Marling

The collection of papers in this submission represents the work of faculty and students in the Faculty of Education at York University. All papers are related to the general theme of equity and social difference. This theme was chosen because it is a theme common to the work of most education faculty at York. Faculty contributions represent current faculty work which relates to this theme. Student work emerged from a graduate seminar examining issues of equity and difference. All student work was supported by many faculty members who challenged us with their questions and guided our study. It is fitting to acknowledge the support of these faculty: Deborah Britzman, Sharon Murphy, Gary Bunch, Joanne Paris, Trevor Owen, Patrick Solomon, Don Dippo, Graham Orpwood, Jill Bell, Naomi Norquay, Carl James, Didi Khayatt, Olive Fullerton, Dennis Searle, David Mason, and Esther Fine. Even though their names are not acknowledged on student papers this work would not have been possible without their support.

The various papers which are included in this submission begin with a very detailed examination of the ways multiculturalism and antiracist education have been conceived historically in Ontario. After reviewing historically approaches to multiculturalism Helen Harper, who authored this section, she states a preferred alternative: an antiracist approach which creates space for different voices by critiquing difference which helps us understand each other by better understand who we ourselves are.

This vision of Multicultural and Antiracist education is reinforced in the next paper entitled *An introduction to antiracist education* by Shyrose Jaffer. The assumptions that underlie our notions of "good" education are discussed and challenged, supporting the claim that good education is antiracist education both for minority and majority students.

This is followed by a paper entitled *What learning disability does: Sustaining the ideology of schooling* by Dudley-Marling and Dippo that demonstrates how well-intentioned programs designed to meet the needs of individual students can have the effect of masking the inequities of schooling and, by sustaining widely held assumptions of how schools work, prevent meaningful school reform. Similar arguments can be made for other "band aid" programs (e.g., ESL programs, remedial programs like Reading Recovery, etc.) which focus on fixing students while leaving the basic structures of schooling intact.

Angela Valeo's review, *Mainstreaming and integration: An overview of the issues*, examines the efficacy of special programs for exceptional learners. Valeo finds that, although the research is mixed, there is little support for the practice of segregating students with exceptionalities for purposes of instruction. She ultimately supports those who believe that the integration of students with exceptionalities into the regular classroom is a moral and ethical issue, regardless of any perceived educational advantages. But, as other reports in the submission indicate, the current organization of schools and classrooms will always make it difficult for teachers to accommodate the range of student abilities.

In her paper, *Does group work advantage or disadvantage students,* June Chubb's imagines classrooms in which students use language to draw on their background knowledge and experience as a way of making sense of their school lessons. Providing opportunities for students to make sense of school from their individual and group perspectives makes it possible for classrooms to accommodate a range of differences based on factors like race, gender, culture, ethnicity, language, sex, and ability. But Chubb also points out that traditional schools, with their emphasis on received knowledge, will never be congenial to active student learning. Again, the active sort of talk Chubb imagines will, more than likely, require a different conception of schooling and how schools are organized.

While Chubb worries that traditional notions of school knowledge may not be congenial to talk, Dudley-Marling, in his paper *The Common Curriculum in an Uncommon Society,* concludes that the kind of common curriculum recently promulgated by the Ontario Ministry of Education will necessarily be hostile to diversity precisely because it is "common." Although the general goals of the Common Curriculum have the potential to accommodate diversity it is likely, Dudley-Marling argues, that the outcomes-based assessment which is called for will inevitably lead to standardized testing which, in turn, will transform the Common Curriculum into a standardized curriculum. A standardized curriculum, he argues, is, almost by definition, antithetical to the goals of creating a multicultural society in Ontario and across Canada.

Sharon Murphy's paper, *No-one has ever grown taller as a result of being measured,* reinforces Dudley-Marling's concerns about standardized testing and standardized curriculum. Murphy points out the technical folly of standardized test but also how this approach to assessment always has the effect of privileging the knowledge of some groups (e.g., white, middle-class, male) to the disadvantage of others (non-white, non-middle-class, non-male). Importantly, Murphy does not recommend that we abandon assessment, rather we put "assessment back where it belongs — in the classroom." This, of course, contradicts current trends in Ontario and across Canada.

One of the attractions of standardized, tactical approaches to teaching is the certainty which attends it. In *Complicating ownership with uncertainty* Curt Dudley-Marling reviews the conflict and frustration which accompanied his personal quest for certainty when he returned to teach Grade 3 for a year. Over time he come to take advantage of uncertainty as an occasion for reflection and, in time, personal and professional growth. Curricula which pretend certainty will, however, provide few opportunities for such growth.

In *Surviving school as a lesbian student* Didi Khayatt illustrates through case studies the human costs of schools which make it difficult for students to bring their identities into the classroom. Clearly, Khayatt;s stories about lesbian students generalize to all students who do not fit the narrow conceptions of "normality" which operate in (and out of) our schools. It seems that these stories illustrate at a very personal level the need to create schools which not only seek academic excellence, but seek to create classrooms which are congenial to the range of human differences. Excellence without equity, and the simplistic solutions for educational reform sometimes put forward by business and parent groups rarely consider equity issues, will likely reproduce current social inequities.

One of the ways to redress social inequities is to encourage broader participation by various groups in professions such as teaching and science, professions which have traditionally exclude many groups. In his paper, *Women and Minorities in Science*, Peter Diawuo outlines the obstacles that continue to prevent women and minorities from enrolling in science and technology courses and ultimately from pursing careers in these areas. The report describes one intervention program: "The University Path Program: Science in Education," currently being piloted by York University. The program focuses on high school girls and minority students and provides them with practical science experiences in the form of research internships. The report concludes by supporting the initiatives for such programs but as well calls for systematic changes in the educational practices, values and beliefs that have characterized science and science education more generally.

Iris Toppings, Jianchun Fan, and Curt Dudley-Marling offer a *Report on the Faculty of Education's Access Initiative*, by reviewing the Faculty's own research on the Access

Program and by interviewing students currently in the Faculty's teacher education program. Their research supports the Faculty of Education's Access Program but also indicates the need to better educate its students on the goals of both the Access Program in particular and multiculturalism and antiracist education in general.

Increasing minority participation in teacher education is an important step to making our schools places open to a variety of voices. Helen Harper, in her report, *White 'Lady' Teachers in Multiculrual Discourse*, discusses how popular images of teachers play a role in creating an environment that is hostile to a broader vision of multiculturalism. Harper explores the production of white, female teacher identity as constructed in the current discourse on Multiculturalism. Two images are identified: one, "Lady Bountiful" represents the white missionary teacher of British Imperialism and the other, "White Lady Traveler" represents a more recent image of the white female adventuress and collector of cultural artifacts. These images are traced to recent Canadian educational documents on multiculturalism. The author argues that both images serve to hide the category of whiteness, rendering it an invisible norm against which all other are defined as exotic or exceptional. The paper concludes with the recommendation that if anti-racist education is to occur the images of white female identity, along with other white representations, will need to be exposed and challenged and that such exposure and analysis of "whiteness" needs to be a part of any anti-racist education curriculum.

Patrick Solomon and Cynthia Levine-Rasky, in their report on *Antiracism and ethnocultural equity: Educators' perspectives on policy and practice*, examine teacher resistance to antiracist and multicultural policy initiatives. Too often teachers see these initiatives as just one more demand on their time or worse, as another trendy innovation. Clearly, teachers and teachers-in-training will have to be convinced of the need for multicultural, antiracist education programs, programs which are integrated throughout the curriculum, before such policies can succeed. But, again, it may be that within current educational structures antiracist education can only be seen as an "add-on." Effective antiracist education and multicultural programs may require a dramatic revision in the way schools are organized.

Taken together these papers indicate that schools are very complicated places. And educational policies and programs which seek to improve education and create a truly multicultural society must acknowledge these complexities. We must ask ourselves what schools are for and, hopefully, conclude that schools are not just about readin', writing'. and 'rithmetic, but also about creating spaces where all of our voices can be heard, a place where we are all willing to be changed by these voices. It is not clear precisely how to go about this although acknowledging the role of schools in creating a multicultural society is an important start. We would also do well to evaluate the various recommendations for school reform in light of the range of cultural, racial, ethnic, economic, gender and linguistic differences our students bring to school with them. We must have the courage to reject reforms that efface differences or pretend that all students come to school with same advantages. We must also be willing to consider the very real possibility that current organizational structures in schools will never be able to accommodate differences. In that case the question isn't how to make the current schools better, but how to invent new schools which are congenial to difference.

Accountability and Assessment:
Ensuring Quality in Ontario Schools
(Draft)

Lorna M. Earl

February 1994

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Earl, Lorna M.

Accountability and Assessment: Ensuring Quality in Ontario Schools (Draft), February 1994.
(*Redevabilité et évaluation: garantir la qualité dans les écoles de l'Ontario*) (Ébauche), février 1994.

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to clarify the concept of accountability in education and to identify ways in which those responsible for education in Ontario can be more accountable and chart directions that will lead to the cycle of continuous improvement that is characteristic of a learning organization. There are six sections in the paper: (1) an introduction to the problems; (2) a philosophical analysis of the meaning of accountability and how it applies to education; (3) looks at the fundamental product of schools - the achievement, attitudes and skills of the students - and describes some concepts and terms that create confusion in understanding assessment of these outcomes of schooling; (4) describes the differentiation of clients and purposes for assessment information, the different ways in which assessment can take place and, suggests some directions for enhancing assessment practices; (5) focuses on the issue of effective communication with the varied clients; and (6) contains recommendations for policy directions.

Earl recognizes that the issues are difficult to resolve and that there are limits to any attempt at accountability. Her recommendations attempt to outline the next steps in promoting quality in Ontario schools. The recommendations include the recognition that accountability should not only provide for reporting, but that the information should be used to provide for continuous improvement in the schools. Assessment should not be the only indicator of educational quality; other indicators are also important. The need exists for a sound balance between large-scale assessment and classroom assessment that recognizes the different locus of responsibility, entitlements of clients, and the methods and reform directions that are inherent in each of them. She also recommends that Ontario continue to be involved in well-designed international and national assessment activities, and as well establish a provincial large-scale assessment system based on the existing Ministry Review.

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Le présent document tente de définir le concept de redevabilité dans le domaine de l'éducation, d'expliquer comment les responsables de l'éducation en Ontario pourraient devenir plus redevables et de proposer des orientations qui débouchent sur un cycle d'améliorations constantes propres à toute organisation d'enseignement. Le document comprend six parties: 1) une introduction à la problématique; 2) une analyse philosophique de la notion de redevabilité et de son application au monde de l'éducation; 3) un examen du produit de base des écoles (les résultats, les attitudes et les compétences des élèves) et une description de certains concepts et termes qui sont source de confusion lorsqu'on essaie de comprendre comment les résultats sont évalués; 4) une description de la différenciation entre les clients et les objectifs aux fins des renseignements sur l'évaluation, une explication des divers moyens d'évaluation, et une liste de propositions pour améliorer les méthodes d'évaluation; 5) une partie portant sur la question d'établissement de bonnes communications avec les différents clients; 6) et des recommandations en matière de politiques.

Madame Earl admet que ces problèmes sont difficiles à résoudre et que la redevabilité a ses limites. Dans ses recommandations, elle essaie de proposer des moyens d'améliorer la qualité dans les écoles de l'Ontario. Selon elle, la redevabilité ne devrait pas s'arrêter à la production de rapports: on devrait aussi voir à ce que les renseignements soient utilisés pour en arriver à une amélioration du système d'éducation. L'évaluation ne devrait pas être le seul indicateur de qualité de l'éducation. Il existe d'autres indicateurs importants. Il faudrait en arriver à un juste équilibre entre une évaluation à grande échelle et une évaluation en salle de classe qui tienne compte des différents centres de responsabilité, des droits des clients et des méthodes et tendances en matière de réforme inhérentes à chacune d'entre elles. Elle recommande aussi que l'Ontario continue de participer à des initiatives valables d'évaluation internationales et nationales et adopte un système provincial d'évaluation à grande échelle fondé sur le système actuel de révision ministérielle.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The 1990s are times of economic and political uncertainty where all institutions are being profoundly affected by the rapidity of changes around us. In recent years, virtually every public institution has been criticized for failing to meet the needs of the groups they were intended to serve. In education, the criticisms range from questions of educational purpose, procedures and reform to questions of accessibility and whether the results of education justify expenditures. The dissatisfaction that is expressed is often coupled with a belief that, if only schools and those who teach in them were more "accountable", the problems could be resolved. People who care about their children, their schools and about the province and country want to be reassured about the Ontario educational system. Unfortunately, it is rarely clear what is meant by accountability. It is an emotionally charged term that implies such things as striving for success, confidence, trust, communication and responsiveness, but does not define actual behaviours or practices.

At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the intent of any accountability activity is to ensure that Ontario schools are able to change and adapt in order to provide students with the kind of education that will serve them well in this uncertain world, not just to describe the current state of affairs. Educators and policy makers need more and better information in order to make good decisions – to monitor effects of reform initiatives and to identify areas for future action. To be useful, information that is generated for accountability must also provide the ability to identify courses of action that can be implemented towards educational improvements.

This paper is an attempt to clarify the concept of accountability in education and to identify ways in which those responsible for education in Ontario can be more accountable and chart directions that will lead to the cycle of continuous improvement that is characteristic of a learning organization. The paper has been organized into 6 sections. The introduction provides a framework for understanding the problem. The second section "Being Accountable in Education" provides a philosophical analysis of the meaning of accountability and how it applies to education. Section 3 "Student Achievement: The Ultimate Purpose" draws attention to the fundamental product of schools – the achievement, attitudes and skills of the students – and describes some concepts and terms that create confusion in understanding assessment of these outcomes of schooling. Section 4 "Different Clients; Different Purposes" reinforces the differentiation of clients and purposes for assessment information, describes different ways in which assessment can take place and suggests some directions for enhancing assessment practices. Section 5 "Communication: The Missing Link" focuses on the issue of effective communication with the varied clients. Finally, section 6 contains "Recommendations for Policy Directions".

2.0 BEING ACCOUNTABLE IN EDUCATION

At the heart of the accountability relationship are two elements – **responsibility** (legal or moral) and **entitlement**. Delineating the parameters of these elements is critical. Certainly, educators and policy makers clearly have a responsibility to account (or answer) and taxpayers and parents are entitled to an accounting about education. It remains unclear, however, what form accounting will actually take in practice. Defining accountability and setting the parameters of responsibility and entitlement, then, are fundamental requirements that have to occur before a plan can be made to increase accountability in the Ontario educational system.

In simple terms, the questions that must be answered are: Who is accountable? To Whom? For What? In What Manner? and Under What Circumstances? The following table is a suggested framework for defining accountability in the Ontario context. It suggests answers to the first three questions posed above. The remaining questions are addressed, at least in part, in the rest of this paper. The configuration in this table is based on the assumption that the forms of accounting and the manner in which people are expected to be accountable ought to be fair and consistent with the

basic purposes of the accountability relationships in which they are involved. This means that the various levels of the educational hierarchy are responsible to their direct constituents or clients and that their interaction and accounting should fulfil their basic purposes in relation to that constituent or client. It does not imply that there is no communication among all of the various groups, rather that critical roles are assigned in the matrix at the point where there is legal or moral responsibility to be answerable or to account for them to a particular group.

Table 1
Accountability: Responsibility and Entitlement in Ontario Education

Entitlement to	Responsibility of		
	Provincial Government	Trustees/Boards administrators	Board and School administrators/Teachers
General public/ taxpayers	• quality of educational programs • cost effectivenes • equity of policies, structures and programs	• quality of educational programs • cost effectiveness • equity of policies, structures and programs	• quality of program and program delivery • judicious use of resources • equity of policies, structures and programs
Individual parents and students	• quality of educational programs • cost effectiveness • equity of policies, strucutres and programs	• quality of educational programs • cost effectiveness • equity • appeal	• individual student learning • fair and equitable treatment

This model makes provincial policy makers responsible for the quality, cost-effectiveness and equity of education in Ontario schools to both taxpayers and parents of individual children. Policy makers at the provincial level, then, have a responsibility to provide evidence to both of these groups about the extent to which they are being successful at fulfilling these obligations. Trustees and school board administrators have much the same responsibility within school systems with the addition of an avenue of appeal for individual parents and students when there is a disagreement at the school level. This group is obligated to report both to the public and to parents about the extent to which these responsibilities are being met. School administrators and teachers are responsible to the public for the quality of program and program delivery, for the judicious use of resources and for equity. Their responsibility to parents and students is much more personal and direct. They are responsible for individual student learning and for fair and equitable treatment of the particular students in their charge. This group must report to the taxpayers in their community about their corporate obligation. With parents, they have a much more sacred pact - to report about the extent to which their children are succeeding and being served in the educational environment. Defining the responsibilities is the first stage. The next step is to develop approaches for providing the appropriate information to fulfil these obligations. To be accountable, the group with responsibility must have **accurate and current information to account to their clients** and have **effective vehicles for communicating with those clients.**

In this delineation of responsibility and entitlement, there are two general categories of people with responsibility (policy makers and professional educators) and two with entitlement (the general public and individual parents and students). The nature of the responsibility across these groups is quite different and requires fundamentally different approaches, not only in the nature of the information that is provided but also in the communication strategies. The rest of this paper addresses the issue of gathering appropriate information and communicating effectively from these two different perspectives, by trying to answer the following questions:

- What practices or policies are desirable to increase the accountability of policy makers (provincial and school board) to the general public?

- What practices and policies are desirable to increase the accountability of professional educators (administrators and teachers) to the parents and students in their schools?

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 describe some of the forces at work in these two arenas – accountability from a political and from a professional perspective.

2.1   *Political Accountability: Establishing Quality*

If policy makers are going to answer to or account to the general public about education in the ways that are described in Table 1, they need to have measures of educational quality that allow them to describe the adequacy of the educational system in relation to the purposes of education. In the first instance, this requires a clear and shared understanding of the purposes of schools in Ontario. From this base of purposes, it is possible to identify the kinds of evidence that are necessary to monitor the system in relation to its stated purposes. **It is impossible to be accountable without first establishing what it is that the province has accepted as its responsibility and, therefore, contracted with the public to do.** Once these purposes are clear and agreed upon, the task becomes one of establishing the appropriate indicators of quality and of determining the appropriate level of reporting. This seemingly simple task has proven to be a formidable one and has prompted many researchers and educators to focus on "quality indicators" as ways of providing information about the effectiveness and healthiness of education. Education quality indicators are measures or statistics that give a summary picture of various aspects of education so that citizens can make informed judgments about education. They are analogous to the TSE index as a measure of the strength of the financial markets, the Canada Health Survey as a measure of the country's health, median national income as an indicator of the country's prosperity or the Gallup Poll as an indicator of political leanings. In each case, the indicator gives a snapshot of some characteristics that are seen as reasonable signposts to the underlying issue of concern. Often these indicators are calculated using sophisticated statistical formulae and have been tested over time to ensure that they do, in fact, reflect what they are intended to portray. In addition, there are generally a number of indicators associated with each of the areas that are being described and the statistics are generated on some regular schedule so that trends can be identified.

Developing indicators for education is a relatively recent phenomenon in Ontario and it is possible to learn a great deal from the experiences of other fields (finance, health, etc.) and from other educational jurisdictions that have grappled with using indicators. The following are some of the issues associated with educational indicator systems:

- Indicators do not improve education; rather, they provide diagnostic information that can potentially identify the severity and the location of problems. They work like x-rays. An x-ray does not cure cancer, it helps to locate it and determine its extent.

- Indicators in education can describe many aspects of the educational system,

including the <u>context</u> within which the educational system is operating; the <u>organization, purpose and functioning</u> of the educational system and the <u>outcomes</u> of the educational system. Appendix A includes a list of possible indicators of educational quality.

-    Although indicators do not directly change education, they can have an impact on future functioning of schools because individuals come, very quickly to value what they measure. The language and design of an indicator system can either enhance or distort the very notion of what matters in schools and, no one indicator, on its own, is sufficient to describe education as a whole. A full range of indicators are necessary along with an understanding of the relationships that exist among them in the educational enterprise, as a way of identifying workable solutions. Although student achievement is a very important outcome of education, on its own, it is insufficient. It is not enough to know average achievement scores without also being able to understand the scores in relation to resources, demographics, structures and instruction, with a view to planning improvement efforts.

-    Indicators are summary statistics that are adequate for describing the province or a school system (and sometimes, a school), but are not precise enough measures to make judgments about individuals.

-    Indicators may be misused and misinterpreted because of their deceptive simplicity.

If policy makers are going to develop and utilize quality indicators they need to carefully define the range of indicators and decide the level at which they intend to report about the indicators (i.e., province, school board, school). Once these decisions are made, they need to employ the expertise of researchers and statisticians with the conceptual and technical skills and training to ensure that the indicators are consistent, accurate, adequate, effectively managed, reasonably analyzed and presented clearly.

Finally, indicators are not useful to anyone if they are not accessible, understandable and useable. The reason for having indicators is to encourage discussion and conversation among those who have an interest in education and to stimulate debate and reflection that leads to informed policy development. Genuine accountability occurs when there is a shared knowledge base that forms a foundation for the conversations to take place. Educators, policy makers and the public need to become knowledgeable consumers that can recognize sound indicators, suspend their judgments, identify patterns in the data, examine the trends and use the information to form opinions.

2.2   *Professional Accountability: Assuring Quality*

The responsibility of professional educators is primarily to account to the students and to the parents of the students whom they teach. Although educators also have a responsibility to the broader public, they have a special obligation to students and parents. The accountability role of educators is to know their students well and to utilize the information to help the student to learn and progress but also to provide students and parents with the information they need to make wise personal judgments and choices. This activity is a very personal, emotional and moral undertaking, with the student's future inextricably tied to the decisions that are made by teachers and administrators. The far-reaching impact of the decisions that they make for the lives of students puts a heavy burden on teachers and administrators. Nevertheless, it is a basic responsibility of the role of a professional educator.

There are a number of changes occurring in education that are already affecting the nature of this role:

-    The economic and societal changes in Ontario have resulted in a much smaller number of agricultural, manufacturing and mining jobs that required only a limited amount

of education. These changes have had a profound influence on the roles of educators who are increasingly being expected to ensure that students develop and are competent in complex skill areas that are not all academic, nor are they all tied to subject-based knowledge. In the shift from an industry-based society to an information-based one, learning is becoming the fundamental ingredient of schooling; there is an expectation that students will, in fact, learn – not all at the same time, or in the same ways, but learning has become paramount.

-    Teachers are not always directly involved in each child's learning. The use of technology, cooperative group learning and a wide range of resources (material and human) make it possible for a student to be involved in many varied learning activities. Education is also moving outside the school walls and occurring in a wide variety of locations as part of programs like cooperative education and outdoor education.

-    At one time, it was sufficient for educators to rank-order students with a symbolic abstract summary of their standing. In our contemporary society, parents, employers and post-secondary institutions want more descriptive information about the actual range of skills and knowledge that have been acquired by each student. Educators are more and more being expected to provide feedback and alternative forms of instruction to promote high levels of learning for all students. Providing information to parents about this broader range of accomplishments requires a dramatic shift in the nature of assessment and reporting.

-    The diversity of Ontario's population is making it more difficult for teachers to feel confident about the learning that is taking place and about the judgments they make about their students.

-    Parents, employers, post-secondary institutions and teachers themselves are expressing concern about how equitable and consistent teachers' judgments are across classes, schools and jurisdictions.

3.0   STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT – THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE

There is no doubt that the primary purposes of education are the acquisition of knowledge, the development of skills and the internalization of societal values on the part of students. Policy makers and educators alike see this as the ultimate test of their success – "How well are the students doing?" The question appears simple and straightforward. It is nevertheless a different question when asked at different levels. The question for legislators who are reporting to the public relates to students collectively "How well are the students in Ontario schools achieving the expectations that have been set for them?". For teachers whose clients are students and parents, the question is about individual students. "Is Charmaine acquiring the skills and knowledge that are expected of her?". There is not one audience and there is not one message – different audiences need different information and it can and should be reported in different ways.

3.1   The Testing Debate

These different requirements are at the heart of one of the most controversial and contentious issues in the accountability arena — testing. The debate about testing has become so emotional that considerable energy is being spent either defending or condemning it, rather than on thoughtful consideration of the issues and invention of solutions. Testing has become a rallying word that polarizes groups. Some say yes, others no. And they are not likely even discussing the same thing. To paraphrase Gertrude Stein "a test is not a test is not a test". A test can be an oral classroom quiz, an observation of performance like a driver's test, a written examination, a published multiple choice test, a science fair project and a myriad of other activities that provide someone with information about performance or achievement. Testing occurs in classrooms and schools across this province every day of the school year. In fact, several Canadian studies indicate that

testing is a more frequent activity in classrooms than demonstrations, doing experiments or doing homework and that high school students experience some form of formal evaluation activity approximately every second day of school. There is no shortage of testing. Rather, there is a lack of clarity about the meaning of terms and about the purposes and audiences for student achievement information and no attempt to match the purposes to appropriate methods of assessment and reporting.

First, some clarification about a number of terms that are often mistakenly used interchangeably and about which there is some confusion. **Assessment** is data collection. It refers to the task of gathering information about a students or group of students using whatever tool or technique seems reasonable. **Testing** is one form of assessment usually using paper and pencil procedures. There is no judgment inherent in assessment. It is the act of observing, gathering data and describing student performance. The judgment occurs in **evaluation**, which is the process if integrating information from different sources and using it to make judgments and decisions about the performance, based on the assessment information. **Marking** and **grading** are the attachment of a symbol (usually a letter or number) to a student product or a collection of products. **Reporting** is the communication of the assessment and/or evaluation information to the appropriate audience.

3.2   *Standards vs. Standardized*

The word "standards" is also a term that is confusing, largely because it has different meanings in different forums. Commonly, it has a positive emotional tone. Having standards connotes a passion for excellence and habitual attention to quality. Standards can also be the reference point against which performance is measured. One kind of standard is the **average attainment** level of some group (others in the class, province or the country) Another kind of standard describes the **expected attainment**, regardless of current levels of achievement by the group. This latter kind of standard has become increasingly recognized as important because it may not be adequate to continue to measure performance against existing norms. Living in a global society requires establishing standards that reflect a future orientation, as well. These standards can have many levels of sophistication and excellence. Standards can be set for the exceptional level of performance (Elvis Stoyko's skating or Margaret Atwood's novels) or they can describe the expectations for students at a given age or stage. In the first instance they are describing the highest level of excellence, in the other they can describe worthy and appropriate goals that can be used for judging student performance. It is important to note that there is no one model of excellence that defines a standard but a variety of exemplars to emulate and these examples need to be made visible to all of the players. One of the most difficult and challenging tasks in education today is establishing these standards. There is no existing list of educational standards. They need to be defined and they will inevitably be the best judgments of the people in the society. In addition, they will be constantly evolving as we get a clearer understanding of the skills, knowledge and values that our students will need to have to equip them for their futures. This discussion about standards will necessitate large numbers of people engaging in the hard intellectual work of defining "world class standards" for our students.

Standardized, on the other hand, is more of a technical term. In the original sense of the word, it refers to some common procedures or tasks given under comparable conditions, using the same instructions. Over time, the term has come to be attached to standardized testing and equated with multiple choice, published, norm-referenced testing, particularly in the United States. This attachment has been changing in the past decade and broadened to include criterion-referenced and even performance-based assessment procedures, largely because of dissatisfaction with the narrow focus of the original tests.

3.3   *Assessing Students' Achievement; Assessing A Student's Achievement*

The crux of the matter is – How do we measure student achievement in order to be

accountable to all of our diverse audiences? If there were a simple answer to the question, it would not be an issue of debate world-wide at the moment. In our rapidly changing world, this is a genuine dilemma. One thing is becoming abundantly clear -- there is no one way. There are many ways to assess student achievement and different procedures are required to be accountable to the public than to be accountable to parents and students. As Haney (1991) wrote, "using one assessment procedure is like using a hammer to do everything from brain surgery to pile driving". There is a whole tool-box of assessment approaches. The challenge is to find the right tools to suit each of these purposes.

It is important to note that the public concern about educational accountability does not differentiate between the different client groups. Instead, there appears to be a generalized anxiety about the adequacy of Ontario's educational system in the province as a whole and in local school boards, and dissatisfaction is being expressed by the public at large and by individual parents. This suggests that **changes and reform are required in answering to both groups who are entitled to information**. The following section describes two different kinds of assessment that are associated with the different levels of accountability.

4.0 *DIFFERENT CLIENTS; DIFFERENT PURPOSES*

The two different purposes and audiences that were identified earlier as the significant accounting relationships are also the differentiating element in assessing student achievement. Assessment of student achievement for program or system evaluation and reporting to the general public is clearly the role of legislators and policy makers. Assessment of individual student learning for reasons of consequence to that student and his/her parents is the responsibility of teachers and school administrators, along with parents and students themselves.

Large-scale assessment is the kind of assessment that provides policy makers with information about student achievement for reporting to the public. It looks at **groups of students** and is done periodically to provide an index of educational health. This kind of assessment can be done at an international, national, provincial or school board level and, to be objective and comparable across schools, boards and countries, it must be carefully planned and carried out by researchers with expertise and training in conducting large scale assessment studies. Traditionally, (particularly in the U.S.) large-scale assessment has been done using multiple choice tests. More recently, a debate has emerged about the adequacy of these instruments and many jurisdictions are experimenting with tests that include a performance element and require students to produce an answer or response, not just select one.

Large-scale system assessments as instruments of accountability are really evaluation studies designed to evaluate the impact of educational programs as they are legislated by any jurisdiction on the learning of the students. Evaluating a program involves collecting information about what the program looks like in operation and about the effects it is having. Program evaluation is concerned not only with the products of the program, but also with the nature of the relationships among all of the possible contributing factors to these products, in an attempt to understand how these relationships operate. The results of these studies are snapshots of the system as a whole and identify broad areas of success and weakness that can guide policy decisions and raise the consciousness of the public to educational issues. Such studies provide the fodder for public debate and policy decisions by raising questions about the values that we hold as a society; questions about the effectiveness of education and about what we are prepared, as a society, to change.

Classroom assessment, on the other hand, is the kind of assessment that is part of the daily experience of educators and students and is used to generate information about **individual students or small groups of students** to diagnose student need, motivate students, form a foundation for decisions about promotion or placement, plan instruction and inform parents. It is the kind of assessment that is an integral part of classroom activity. It occurs frequently; it may be formal or informal; it is often indistinguishable from instruction; it may occur with an individual or a group.

Classroom assessment includes oral questioning, teacher-made tests, quizzes, assignments, examinations, projects, observations of performance, essays and any other products or samples of behaviour that might provide information about how well a student is doing. As we move into an era where our expectations of students are varied and complex, where some of the concepts being measured require analysis and application of knowledge in new ways, where decision-making and problem-solving are as important as recall of facts, regular and ongoing classroom assessment and sharing with parents and students will be increasingly important, as a vehicle for engaging the key decision makers in planning a student's future learning and directions.

The challenge in Ontario today is to reform both kinds of assessment so that the public and the parents are receiving the information to which they are entitled.

4.1   *Creating A Large-scale Assessment System*

Most Western countries are grappling with the issue of how to measure student achievement so that the information will be useful for accountability and policy decisions. Many different approaches are being developed, all originating from the unique and peculiar contexts (both educational and political) that exist in the particular jurisdiction. Ontario has its own unique context. Until the last decade, no provincial testing has taken place since the late 1960s and the departmental exams that were in place at that time were primarily designed and used for decisions about individual student's entry to university. They were not intended to provide a measure of the quality of education. It is only in recent years that there has been an interest in assessing student achievement as a way of determining quality of programs. This unencumbered history leaves the province free to create an assessment system that is both adequate and cost-efficient.

Ontario's first contact with large scale assessments that were directed at determining how well our system is performing came in the form of international assessments. The province participated in the Second International Math Study and in the International Assessment of Educational Progress. Since that time the Council of Ministers has embarked on national assessments in mathematics, and is preparing for them in science and language. The Ministry of Education (and Training) has undertaken Provincial Reviews of Senior Geography (1987), Senior Chemistry and Physics (1988), Mathematics and Reading in Grade 6 (1989), Mathematics in Grade 8, 10G and 12A (1990), Writing in Grade 12 (1991) and Reading/Writing in Grade 9 (1993). The results of these studies have contributed to public concern about education in Ontario and led to increased interest in undertaking routine assessment of students in Ontario. At the same time, many school boards have initiated their own large-scale assessments using a whole host of different instruments and procedures ranging from a variety of commercial standardized tests to locally developed tests to buying in to provincial reviews. This activity has created a patchwork of large-scale assessment initiatives that is largely unfocused with no coherence across the province or links over time.

If policy makers want to be accountable to the public for educational quality, it seems obvious that there needs to be some coherent form of large-scale assessment of student achievement. The question is: What kind of system?

Although this search for the best system will undoubtedly continue for many years, a number of principles of good large-scale assessment systems have been identified that can inform decisions in Ontario:

> -   Since what gets measured ultimately governs what gets taught, a large scale assessment system should **provide information about Ontario students in the attainment of the skills, knowledge and values that are seen to be important**. Some forms of testing have been accused of driving schools to teach shallow content and a narrow curriculum because the tests are limited to low level thinking skills and a small number of content areas. If large scale assessment is going to influence the quality of schooling for the future, it is

important to focus on the significant outcomes of education, not just what is easy to measure.

- For a long time, most provinces or countries have been satisfied to measure themselves against the average performance in their own context. Norms were developed as reference points, based on the average performance of a sample selected from within the population. Although this remains one useful reference point, in many parts of the world, it is being seen as only part of the picture. It has become more important to identify the actual knowledge, skills and values that are important for students to acquire and to make those visible to the public as statements of performance targets or standards. If a large-scale assessment system is going to provide a goal for continuous improvement, it should be **based on high standards of excellence that can serve as ideals that may not have been reached yet, but serve as worthy targets**.

- Many testing systems have been criticized for being unfairly biased against some groups of students. Bias can occur in several different ways. First, the assessments themselves must be able to separate subject matter content from the ability to think or communicate. Second, bias can occur if assessments are used to pigeon-hole children or to lock them into a cycle of low achievement. In a culture as diverse as Ontario, it is essential that a large-scale assessment system is **free of cultural bias, not only in the instruments that are used, but in the way the results are presented, interpreted and used**.

- Instruments that are used for large-scale assessment must be **technically reliable and valid**. Developing such instruments is not an easy task. Like many other fields, educational measurement is a technically sophisticated area that relies heavily on statistical and conceptual expertise.

- Since any large-scale assessment has as its purpose improvement in programs, the approach that is used should include **sufficient contextual information** (e.g., demographics, program emphasis, time spent, resources, teacher training) **to assist in understanding the results and to point the direction for actions designed to improve programs**.

- Since comparisons are a part of large-scale assessment, it is important to ensure that the procedures that are used and the information that is collected is adequate to have confidence in the comparisons. This means that the **conditions under which the large-scale assessments take place need to be standardized and monitored**. It is also necessary to assemble enough information and undertake the necessary statistical analyses to ensure legitimate and appropriate comparisons. This is particularly an issue because schools are not the only influence on students and it is important to be able to identify the constellations of conditions that contribute to student attainment.

- The **direct involvement of teachers in the development and scoring** of large-scale assessments increases their understanding and support for the process and the likelihood of utilizing the results.

- Any viable large-scale assessment system has to be **cost-effective**. It is not possible to embark on an ambitious program of large-scale assessments that are too costly. To be cost-effective, a large-scale assessment system needs to be both politically and financially feasible. There are a number of promising options in this area that include scheduling large-scale assessments to occur periodically over a number of years as well as using a variety of sampling techniques.

Creating an effective large-scale assessment system is a critical component of the accountability agenda, but, it will not and should not be expected to fulfil all of the assessment reform needs. The classroom assessment that forms the foundation for accounting to parents and

students also requires major reforms to ensure that teachers and administrators are fulfilling their responsibility to the people who are entitled to this information.

4.2 *Changing the Face of Classroom Assessment*

There are many indications that parents aren't happy with the information they are currently getting about their own children. They complain that report cards are too vague; that teachers can't (or won't) explain their evaluations; that decisions about marks aren't fair; that there is no consistency from grade to grade, classroom to classroom or school to school; and increasingly some of them are demanding standardized tests so that they can have an outside, objective measure. Parents deserve to know about their children, and their call for standardized tests is a reflection of their frustration. This kind of testing, however, is not likely to satisfy their need to know. The real solution is **reforming the way in which classroom assessment and reporting take place in schools**. As we move into an era where some skills and concepts being measured are not easily measured through tests, and where application, decision-making and problem-solving are at least as important as recall of facts, gathering information for quality decision-making about individual students is a time-consuming process that cannot be done from the outside. Classroom teachers are the only ones who have the sustained opportunity and the intimate knowledge of both the student and the program that is required to paint vivid pictures of each individual student's learning, especially over the course of time. In order to satisfy the increased information needs of parents and students in a world where descriptions of learning are more important than rank-ordering students, teachers must become better assessors, evaluators and reporters of student progress and achievement. They must become adept at developing means of assessing students understanding of significant ideas and processes and be prepared to describe and discuss, not just label educational progress. This is a dramatic shift for educators but one that is possible. It can happen in the following ways:

- Teachers, parents, students and the public at large have to establish some agreed upon **outcomes** that represent what is valued in school and those targets need to be visible and clear to all of them.

- A set of performance **standards** is required that can form the basis for teachers to provide a range of examples. This will allow both teachers and students to come to understand what is expected and to make evaluative judgments about the quality of a student's work that is more consistent across classes and schools.

- Classroom assessment should be **varied**. No single procedure can possibly assess all facets of learning. Teachers and students can benefit from a whole **variety of assessment techniques** (e.g., quizzes, observations of performance, portfolio assessment, journal entries, self-monitoring), that provide them with feedback to guide further learning.

- Classroom assessment should be **frequent**. The only way to be sure about a student's learning and to describe it over time is to have regular and frequent assessments that provide the teacher and the student with routine information about progress. This is particularly true in relation to outcomes like written communication, synthesis, analysis, and mathematical application, where the thinking required in these more complex skill areas can be utilized in a wide variety of different areas or disciplines and requires much more than the generation of a single right answer.

- Classroom assessment should focus on **diagnosis, learning and feedback**, as well as accreditation. Routine assessment should be an important part of the teaching/learning process, not something tacked on at the end.

- Classroom assessments should enhance **self-assessment**. Students need to become adept at assessing their own understanding and monitoring and modifying their own learning

in order to be life long learners.

-        Teachers need to pay much more attention to the **quality and consistency** of their assessments. One powerful way of enhancing quality is teachers working together to ensure that they agree about the standards and about the progress of their students.

For teachers to become adept assessors, they need sustained support and training in developing and implementing high-quality assessments of student achievements. This is currently a major gap in staff development programs both for new teachers and for seasoned teachers who now have to operate in a different milieu.

4.4 *Linking Assessment to Continuous Improvement and Learning*

Although creating and reforming assessment systems (both large scale and classroom) can provide information for the different audiences that are entitled to it, it is important to recognize that assessment is just that – a way of providing information. It does not "de facto" improve anything. Just weighing a starving baby does not feed it; nor does publishing its weight. Relying on assessment as evidence of accountability conceals many of the negative possibilities associated with it under the guise of a seemingly neat fix. In fact, by casting the debate over how to address the problems in our schools in terms of a testing solution, we may divert attention from systemic problems related to delivery systems such as instruction, textbooks, length of school year, teacher training, etc. Although assessment can assist in reform efforts, we cannot test our way out of our educational problems. The real issue is how to use the information that arises from assessment activities, along with everything else that is known, to formulate and implement improvement and restructuring efforts in schools.

Large-scale assessments are the research and development arm of educational improvement. If they are thoughtfully designed, they can influence practices in schools in two different ways. If the assessments themselves model good instruction and assessment practices, they can affect teaching and assessment practices directly. If they include within them, measurements of input (student, school and teacher characteristics) and process (instruction, time allocation, resources, etc.), this data can be used to identify patterns of strength and weakness and target improvement activities.

Classroom assessment, done well, can be the most powerful tool available for raising standards and improving learning because it offers an individual student, teacher and parents direct insight about what to do in terms of changing practice to achieve greater learning and deeper understanding. Concurrent feedback, that comes to the student during the learning, serves as the basis for intelligent adjustment along the way and as a foundation for later attempts. With good classroom assessment, learning is not the answering of inert questions correctly in exchange for marks, but solving complex problems by responding to the feedback provided within the problem and situation itself. This kind of assessment is designed to improve learning and performance, rather than simply measuring it.

So, assessment information is only a small portion of the improvement puzzle and, to be useful, the assessment procedures need to be structured to allow the information gleaned from them to be used for making reasoned decisions about changes directed towards continuous improvement. Once assessment information is available (either from periodic large-scale assessments or from routine classroom assessments), the key to translating it into any kind of changes in practice is communication.

5.0   *COMMUNICATION: THE MISSING LINK*

If Ontario is going to increase the perceived as well as actual accountability of those who are responsible to those who are entitled to information, it is not enough to create and enhance

assessment systems either large-scale or classroom based. Assessing student achievement in large-scale assessments, by itself, does not improve education; assessing the achievement of an individual student in a class will not, by itself, improve learning. Good assessments (large-scale and classroom) can provide unbiased and accurate information that can be used to make decisions but, they can only contribute to decision-making if the people who are making the decision have the information. And that brings us to the heart of the matter. Good communication is more than just sharing what is known, it is the essence of accountability. Accountability implies trust, shared understanding and mutual support – conditions that cannot happen without open, responsive and regular vehicles for communication and genuine exchange of ideas.

5.1 *Recognizing the Right to Know*

The third element of accountability, in addition to responsibility and entitlement, is compliance. There is not likely to be any action directed towards sharing information unless the agents responsible agree that they are obligated to account and that the requirements are within their ability to satisfy. In the case of policy makers, Ontario has had a history of limited obligation to report about the quality of education to the general public because the public appeared to be generally contented with educational policy and were satisfied with descriptions of educational practices. Reporting by educators to parents has been largely confined to periodic parent-teacher meetings and report cards containing summary scores and a few anecdotal comments. It seems clear that there is increased interest in more detailed and complete information on the part of both groups who are entitled to receive it. In order to comply with these changes in information needs, both policy makers and educators need to recognize and accept the legitimate rights of entitlement – that the public is entitled to know about the quality of education and that parents are entitled to know about the attainment of their children. From this vantage point, the issue is not whether to comply but how to foster a commitment to the process and develop the most appropriate and manageable ways of gathering and communicating the wealth of information that it is possible to provide in order to begin and sustain the conversations that are necessary for this information to be used wisely in the service of improved educational decisions.

Once again, the different audiences require different communication methods. Taxpayers and the general public need to become knowledgeable consumers of large-scale assessment information and policy makers must find ways of presenting the results in accessible reports written in plain language. Educators must find ways to provide rich descriptions and profiles of the accomplishments and weaknesses in the attainment of each student in their care.

5.2   *Understanding the Results of Large-scale Assessments*

Large-scale assessments are complex procedures. Nevertheless, it is essential to describe these studies, and the wealth of information that is contained in them, in ways that can be easily understood, without trivializing them. Ontario's results in international and national assessments have raised the awareness and concern of the public in Ontario. Concern that Ontario students, as a group, do not perform as well as expected. Certainly these studies have identified some areas that deserve concerted attention. Unfortunately, the results of these studies have sometimes been used and misused as a "whadja get" exercise without thoughtful consideration and interpretation of the studies themselves. Interpretation and reporting of the results of large-scale assessment studies is not a simple task. This, however, is the major challenge for policy makers – reporting the results so that the public an understand and use them. There are two important issues associated with interpreting the results:

- **comparability:** how comparable are the results across groups?
- **value-added:** how much does education contribute?

One of the purposes of large scale assessments is almost always to make comparisons between and among a number of jurisdictions. Making appropriate comparisons is not as simple as ranking the raw scores and pronouncing those at the top good and those at the bottom bad (no matter what the inclination of the media). Unfortunately, there is the implicit assumption that providing some information is being more accountable than providing no information at all. The danger in this logic is that biased, underanalyzed or uninterpreted information may be very misleading. The following are issues that cannot be overlooked when making judgments based on the results of large-scale assessments:

- Who Was Tested? – Large-scale assessments are almost always conducted using a sample of students to represent the entire population. While this is a cost-efficient approach that yields results that are sufficiently accurate to make generalizations for accountability purpose, there are some sampling conditions that need to be considered in interpreting the results. The first is whether or not the groups who were part of the study were the same in different jurisdictions. For example, to what extent are the students who are still enrolled in science at age 16 similar across the countries, provinces, or school boards. What proportion of the student have dropped out before the study was done or have been streamed into programs that eliminate them from the study? If the results are to be used to make judgments about the adequacy of the educational program, it is important to know what proportion of the student who were assessed are true products of this school system (i.e., have been there for the bulk of their educational career).

- How Different Do The Scores Have To Be To Be Significant? – In all large scale studies that are based on a sample of students, there is a margin of uncertainty in the results. In the same way that polling companies conduct public opinion polls by contacting a random sample of people, large scale international and national assessments are done with much less expense using a sample of students. The results are reported with attention to the accuracy that the sample provides (e.g., actual score for the province is within + or - 3%, 19 times out of 20). What appears to be a difference in scores if you only look at the raw numbers or the ranks, may not be a difference at all, when the range of uncertainty is taken into account. (See Appendix B for an example from an Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report).

- What Was Tested? – When a test is being designed for use in a large number of countries or provinces or school boards, it is rarely fully congruent with the curriculum or the values of all of the participating jurisdictions. To fully utilize the results of these large-scale studies, the reader must ask questions like: Do the items that are included in the test or assessment activity match the values or expectations of the society? Have these concepts that are tested been taught? Should they be? The results of large scale assessment always have to be considered in relation to all of the educational outcomes and experiences that are part of Ontario education and society. Interpreting the results from large scale assessments demands clarification of expectations for students and also of beliefs about the purpose of schools.

- How Similar Were the Testing Conditions? – This is the question of standardization of procedures. If the results of an assessment are to be compared, the testing requirements should have been similar in terms of time allowed, availability of resources and teacher assistance and there should be compliance with these procedures in all of the jurisdictions involved.

If the educational system and the people who work in it are going to be held accountable for the results, then the results should be something over which they have some control. Using scores from large-scale assessments as measures of educational quality arises from a business model that presumes that what students learn is entirely in the purview of the schools. This assumption is

clearly not true. The quality of the "input" has a great deal to do with the results. To understand the impact of education on students' learning, it is also necessary to identify the contribution of schooling in relation to the inputs and context. Many other factors might influence the results (e.g., prior learning, instruction, teacher training, socioeconomic status of students, students' language backgrounds, resources, class sizes, attendance rates, etc.)? All of these and more are possible contributors to the test results and should be studied as well to provide further direction for policy.

These technical issues highlight the complexity of involvement in large-scale assessment activities. Although the public might like to receive simple answers to their questions about education, they are not naive enough to believe that education is really that simple. For them to truly understand and participate in decision-making about educational reform, the complexities have to be communicated in ways that they can understand. Just engaging in high quality large-scale assessments does not fulfil the accountability responsibility if no one gets the message, if the message is misrepresented, or if the message is so difficult to understand that it is impenetrable.

5.3   *Sharing Large-Scale Assessment Results*

Very simply, communicating with the public about large-scale assessment results requires aggressive reporting and public relations activities. Although the media is a powerful influence in this arena, it is not sufficient for policy makers to rely on the media to present the results fairly or accurately. Policy makers must accept this responsibility themselves and work with the technical specialists who are knowledgeable about the study to undertake the job of interpreting the results and presenting them to the public in as many forums and forms as they can imagine. The public does not have the time, nor the inclination, to read more than a few paragraphs or watch more than a few minutes of television coverage. This poses a major challenge – how to provide as much information as possible accurately and succinctly, without oversimplifying the message. To do this, policy makers can:

- foster relationships with the media and become familiar with their individual styles and biases in reporting

- work with professional writers and directors to create press releases and television reports that are accurate and fair, and that utilize graphs, pictures, and written and spoken words to make them understandable

- communicate directly with the public through such things as brochures, ads, tv commercials, etc.

- buy time or space when results are being released to ensure adequate coverage

- provide educators with detailed and comprehensible reports, as well as answers to likely questions, so that they can be front line public relations people who are knowledgeable about the large-scale assessment.

Just communicating the results is not enough. The findings should be presented along with suggestions for action that emerge from the analysis of the results.

5.4   *Using the Results of Large-scale Assessments*

Using the results of large-scale assessment is akin to using the results of health indices. They rarely provide unequivocal answers, but rather create a forum that can lead to the kind of mutual understanding that forms the basis for genuine accountability. They can provide the foundation for debate about public policy and uncover directions for changes in emphasis or focus. The most important move for policy makers is to use the results to create a range of possible action

plans that respond directly to the results of the assessments.

5.5   *Communicating and Classroom Assessment: Teachers As the Key*

Reporting student achievement in the form of marks or comments on a report card has traditionally been the vehicle educators have used for accountability to parents. These reports have been important contributors to students' future directions. The comments and marks on report cards have been used by many people – parents, peers, principals, employers, university or college administration officers – to make important decisions.

Although there is likely general agreement that grading or marking systems are necessary, there is increasing disagreement about the specific practices that are used to determine marks. In the absence of a set of agreed upon standards, there may be as many ways of grading or marking student work as there are teachers working in schools. The elements that are considered, the weighting of factors and the criteria for judging are usually firmly embedded in the mind of each teacher but invisible to others and permit a grade or mark to mean one thing to one person and something else to another.

A system that was quite adequate in a prior time has become confusing and counter productive. In today's world, the most important clients of schools (parents and students) need more detailed, specific information about their performance and they need to understand the criteria by which they were assessed. In addition, in the current economic and societal atmosphere, the incidence of student failure and poor performance demonstrates that merely reporting student progress is insufficient. To be accountable to students and parents, the assessment that teachers undertake needs to be driven by the need to promote student capacity, not just measure it. The role of the teacher is moving away from being a gate-keeper of a student's future to one of describing student attainment in rich, vivid ways and discussing their descriptions with the student and the parents. This is a new and frightening role for teachers. Nevertheless, it is a critical element in responding to the information needs of the students and parents. It also has the potential to be the heart of school improvement. As teachers, students and parents learn more about the strengths and weaknesses of individual student's learning, they can adjust programs and target instruction and practice. These adaptations are likely to result in increased learning and contribute to a higher level of educational quality generally.

This movement towards describing student performance in ways that are visible to parents and students depends heavily on the professional expertise of teachers. Teachers will operate as the experts who provide detailed information to their clients so that the clients can make decisions of their own. Like physicians, they will provide all the pertinent information, guide the client through various scenarios, suggest a variety of alternatives and even recommend second or third opinions but the decisions will ultimately be made by the clients. This does not mean that teachers will not continue to contribute to the decisions about students but they will not make them in isolation or unilaterally. It also does not mean that the parents and students are the only consumers of information for decision-making. There are many potential consumers for the descriptions of student performance in school (e.g., college and university registrars, employers) who can use the descriptions for purpose of their own. In order to fulfil this new professional role, teachers need an enormous amount of training in assessment and in communicating effectively with students and their parents. A change this profound will also require changes in the way schools are organized and operate. It is more difficult for teachers to come to a shared understanding and give consistent information about their students when they operate in isolation from one another. One powerful way of improving the quality of information for parents and students is for teachers to work together in groups when they assess, evaluate and mark student work. Their collective judgment is much more likely to provide defensible information.

It is also more obvious that self-evaluation is a critical element in learning. Students need

to become adept at identifying their own strengths and weaknesses, monitoring their own learning and adjusting what they do. It is not likely, however, that students will become competent, realistic self-evaluators on their own. They need to be taught the skills of self-evaluation and have routine and challenging opportunities to practice and validate their own judgments.

Provincial and school system policy makers will have to provide direction and support to help teachers make the transition. To do this they can:

- provide **intensive inservice programs in assessment and communication** of student progress that helps teachers discard their old ideas about evaluation and replace them with new beliefs and skills

- establish **standards and criteria for marking** that establish shared understanding among teachers so that different teachers come to agree about what is expected and to score similar work similarly

- develop a whole **range of quality assessment resources** that can be available to teachers for their use

- establish **provincial and board-level policies for assessment, evaluation, grading and reporting practices** that are used on sound measurement principles and provide valid and reliable measures of all facets of student learning

- organize schools so that **teachers can work together** to assess and describe the learning of their students

- **reform reporting procedures to reflect the range of outcomes** that are valued parts of the curriculum

- **involve students and parents** in assessing and evaluating the student's work

- provide teachers with **training in working with parents** to help them understand and utilize assessment information.

- **establish links between secondary schools and colleges and universities** to devise reporting schemes that emphasize learning and provide profiles of student attainment.

5.6   *Teachers, Students and Parents Working Together*

The only way that educators can be directly accountable to parents and students is to share information with them. It is clear that the nature, intensity and frequency of this contact is likely to increase. In a number of countries, especially in Europe and Australia, there has been a concerted effort to enhance this relationship and transform simple reporting into an ongoing conversation. Portfolios, Records of Achievement, Student Profiles, Dossiers, Student-led Parent-Teacher Conferences, and Culminating Performance Assessments are all examples of activities that are emerging as vehicles to promote close dialogue between schools and families.

6.0   *Recommendations For Policy Directions in Ontario*

These recommendations are based on a recognition of the complexity of the issues that surround the cry for accountability in education in Ontario, particularly as it relates to assessment. The recommendations arise out of reading literature from fields as far-ranging as philosophy and

business, and from jurisdictions around the world, with an eye to establishing the policy directions that are most suited to the Ontario context, while learning from the experiences of other areas and other places. It is important to recognize that education has become markedly politicized and is confronted today with challenges that are peculiarly contemporary and arise from the size, complexity, diversity and uncertainty of our culture. The questions arising for policy are painfully difficult to resolve and there are limits to any attempt at accountability. Nevertheless, there are some directions that appear to be appropriate as next steps in promoting quality in Ontario schools:

- Explicitly recognize that accountability has at its heart not only providing the appropriate information to those who are entitled to receive it, but also using that information to engage in continuous improvement.

- Identify assessment of student attainment as, arguably the most important, but nevertheless only one indicator of educational quality that needs to be embedded in a larger agenda of quality indicators for education. In this regard, the Commission can encourage the continuation of the Pan-Canadian activity that is already under way through the Council of Ministers of Education to define and measure a range of educational indicators (e.g., dropout rates, mobility, etc.).

- Reinforce the need for a sound balance between large-scale assessment and classroom assessment that recognizes the different locus of responsibility, entitlements of clients, methods and reform directions that are inherent in each of them.

- Continue to be involved in well-designed international and national assessment activities.

- Establish a provincial large-scale assessment system that:
  •is based on the existing Ministry Review model that includes measurement of inputs, context, processes and outcomes (cognitive and non-cognitive)
  •identifies the areas to be assessed for the next three years, with a commitment to extend this schedule by announcing another one each year so that educators and the public have time for advance planning and preparation
  •is based on established outcomes, standards and criteria for assessment that will form the basis for judgments about students' level of attainment and are shared with educators and the public for validation and discussion
  •is based on sampling for estimates at the provincial level
  •is staffed with the technical expertise to allow for sophisticated analyses of the data from large-scale assessment activities in order to move beyond simple reporting and explore more complex relationships
  •uses measurement experts and teachers, working together, to develop the instruments, to establish the criteria for scoring and to score the students' work
  •extends the scope of the large-scale assessment by requiring each board to conduct the same assessment within the board, so that the content and process is consistent throughout the province and the results across jurisdictions are comparable.
  •Includes communication and public relations mechanisms that keep the public abreast of information from large-scale assessments and promote discussion and exchange of ideas.

- Highlight the importance of reforming classroom assessment by:
  •Developing a provincial policy on assessment, evaluation, grading and reporting of student performance that reflect sound measurement principles
  •Requiring all boards to have policies for assessment, evaluation, grading and reporting of student performance that reflect sound measurement principles
  •Establishing provincial standards and criteria for assessment to form the basis for judgements about student's levels of attainment

- Informing the public, particularly parents, about the provincial expectations for assessment evaluation, grading and reporting to parents.
- Developing support documents for teachers and administrators in classroom assessment and reporting practices
- Requiring that pre-service teachers, practising teachers and school administrators have extensive training in assessment and communicating with parents and students
- Instituting periodic audits of teachers compliance with the policies and the standards
- Ensuring that principals routinely monitor, supervise and evaluate the work of everyone who is involved in assessment, evaluation, grading, and reporting to ensure the adequacy of this process
- Identifying students and parents as active participants in assessment and developing reporting procedures that engage them directly in the process

- Delineate expectations and ensure coherence between elementary/secondary and colleges and universities

- Establish an accountability directorate, staffed with education and measurement experts to undertake large-scale assessments, monitor compliance with accountability requirements and report to the public.

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Table 1

ACCOUNTABILITY INDICATORS

CONTEXT	PROCESS	OUTCOMES
System/school demographics	vision and goals	Program success
Student demogrpahics	Organizational culture	Fiscal success
Employee demographics	Fiscal management	Parental and commmunity perceptions
Parent/community norms	Programs and services	Staff perceptions
Fianancial resources	Policies	Student perceptions
	Staffing	
	Safe environment	

ACCOUNTABILITY AND ASSESSMENT: Ensuring Quality in Ontario Schools

Table 2

CONTEXT

System/school demographics	• class size distributions and averages • pupil/teacher ratio • school size • enrollment projections • enrollments in various programs (special education, B/G/A, elite athlete, etc.) • census data • welfare data
Student demographics	• enrollment (by system, school, grade, age, gender, etc.) • ESL statistics • age/grade distribution • mobility • health • special needs • socio-economic status • immigration (years in country) • attendance • ethnicity • courses taken
Employee demographics	• age distribution • gender distribution • role in organization • years of service • degrees • specialities • mobility • experience • attendance • professional development history • salary distribution and average
Parent/community norms	• ethnic and cultural makeup of community • socio-economic distribution • parents' expectations of the school system
Fianancial resources	• tax revenuw • grants • "in kind" services • other income

ACCOUNTABILITY AND ASSESSMENT: Ensuring Quality in Ontario Schools

Table 3

PROCESS

Vision and goals	• mission statement • beliefs • school system objectives • exit outcomes • graduation requirements
Organizational culture	• shared decision-making • high expectations for students • collaboration • shared vision • commitment to student learning • instructional leadership • commitmenet to continuous improvement
Fiscal management	• budget summaries • program costs • salary costs • overhead costs • percentage of space utilized • resources allocation
Programs and services	• academic programs • special education • special programs • student services • community services • staff development • instructional time • curriculum philosophy • curriculm management • available resources • co-curricular programs • parental programs
Policies	• values • staff evaluation

Table 3 cont'd

Staffing	• distribution of teaching staff by programs and services • distribution of subiness and operation staff • staff turnover • staff attendances
Safe environment	• repairs and maintenance • staff and parental opinions about climate (e.g. trust, safety, place for learning) • vandalism • suspensions • police involvement • conflict resolution programs
Equity	• opportunity to learn • grouping practices

OUTCOMES

Program success	• student achievenement in key areas and grades • program evaluation • pass/fail rates • average marks • failure rates • fitness levels • student attitudes toward learning • dropout rates (annual and cohort) • graduation rates • destinations (exit interviews) • success after school (follow up surveys of dropouts and gradusates) • attendance rates • student invovlement in school programs • holding power
Fiscal success	• balance sheet • cost effectiveness
Parental and community opinions	• satsifaction • effectiveness
Staff opinions	• satisfaction • effectivenewss
Student opinions	• satisfaction

National and International Comparisons of Student Achievement: Implications for Ontario

Philip Nagy

January 1994

Nagy, Philip.

National and International Comparisons of Student Achievement: Implications for Ontario, **January 1994.**
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This paper reviews one aspect of the major international studies that have involved Canada in recent years, that of comparative achievement. The major points examined are: (1) achievement data must always be interpreted in the light of what was taught; (2) there are great disparities in the discussion of international comparative data between, on the one hand, the original reports and the academic literature concerning them, and, on the other hand, the public and political interpretations of these reports; and (3) the methodology for international comparative studies is in its infancy, comparatively speaking.

After examining the implications of international studies for Ontario and Canada, Nagy concludes that opportunity-to-learn (OTL) is a good starting point for such a discussion. OTL looks at the amount of mathematics or science taught, and in this context, educators in Ontario must look at the question of whether or not they are teaching enough of a designated subject. Nagy does not feel that Canadians want an elite program for the top five percent of the students, nor is this what the new economy needs. The results of the international tests show that more time needs to be spent on mathematics and science; the question is where the time will come from. He concludes that "To get more science or mathematics into the curriculum will require time, money, and the willingness to take something else out. That is a fundamental value question that needs to be answered.

* * * * *

Le présent document examine une des facettes des principales études internationales auxquelles le Canada a participé au cours des dernières années, soit celle des résultats comparatifs. Voici les principaux sujets abordés: 1) il faut toujours interpréter les données sur les résultats à la lumière de ce qui a été enseigné; 2) il existe une grande disparité dans les discussions sur les données comparatives internationales entre d'une part les rapports initiaux et les écrits académiques à leur sujet et d'autre part les interprétations que le public et les politiciens font de ces rapports; 3) et la méthodologie des études comparatives internationales n'en est qu'à ses balbutiements, comparativement parlant.

Après avoir étudié l'impact des études internationales pour l'Ontario et le Canada, l'auteur conclut que l'occasion d'apprendre est un bon point de départ pour de pareilles discussions. Il examine le nombre de cours de mathématiques et de sciences enseignés et, dans ce contexte, il pousse les éducatrices et éducateurs de l'Ontario à se demander s'ils enseignent assez d'une matière donnée. Monsieur Nagy ne pense pas que les Canadiennes et Canadiens veulent d'un programme élitiste pour les cinq pour cent des meilleurs élèves. À son avis, ce n'est pas non plus ce dont l'économie a besoin. Les résultats des tests internationaux révèlent qu'il faut consacrer davantage de temps aux mathématiques et aux sciences. La question est de savoir où l'on trouvera ce temps. Il conclut qu' «accroître la proportion de mathématiques et de sciences nécessitera plus de temps, de moyens financiers et la volonté de supprimer quelque chose d'autre. Il s'agit d'une question de valeur fondamentale à laquelle il faudra répondre.»

Contents

INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE REPORT

TEST CONTENT AND OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN
Subtopic weights and aggregate scores
Measuring opportunity to learn
Compromise, importance, and conflicting goals

INHERENT LIMITATIONS
Value systems
Social, organizational and economic differences
Translation and language issues
Enrolment
Sampling and participation
Test and score accuracy
Summary

REPORTING AND INTERPRETIVE DIFFICULTIES
Score scales
Extreme groups
Confounding enrolment and achievement
Some examples

IMPLICATIONS FOR ONTARIO AND CANADA
Methodological progress
The results for Canada and Ontario
Conclusions

INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE OF THE REPORT

International comparative studies are enormously complex and expensive. The purpose of this article is to review one aspect of the major studies that have involved Canada, and Ontario, in the last several years - comparative achievement. I phrase the purpose this way in order to emphasise that there is a lot more to international studies than achievement comparisons; they are a rich source of comparative information on such topics as school size, organization, policy, opportunity-to-learn, teacher training, and funding.

The major points I want to cover in this review are as follows:

- Achievement data must always be interpreted in light of what was taught. The focus of discussion should be on the skills we wish to impart and how successful we have been at achieving *our own curriculum.* We may indeed wish to discuss whether we ought to teach topics that other jurisdictions choose to teach at particular ages, but *the performance of students on material they have not been taught is not relevant to the issue. Thus, data on opportunity-to-learn the topics on an international test may be more valuable than achievement data.*

- There are great disparities in the discussion of international comparative data between, on the one hand, the original reports and the academic literature concerning them, and, on the other hand, the public and political interpretations of these reports. *While the reports themselves unanimously express caution on data interpretation, the public and political renderings either downplay or totally ignore these cautions.*

- The methodology for international comparative studies is in its infancy, comparatively speaking. Despite the cost, *international studies have the potential to develop as a useful tool for understanding and improving education. They are likely to do so by pointing the way to more powerful within-country analyses with the potential to explain, rather than merely describe, achievement differences.*

The interpretation of international achievement data is highly controversial and politically charged. For example, Freedman (1993), who describes himself as "a dissatisfied parent" (p 6), may speak for many when he claims that "educational leaders have hijacked [the] debate" on the quality of education (p 3). I, and virtually all my sources are, by a broad definition, *educators.* Anyone who earns his or her living analysing educational data can thus be rejected as biased, by those so inclined, and we are left with the difficult dilemma of finding an expert who is not susceptible to being labelled an "insider" defending the "establishment" against external attack. I deal with this problem by providing brief biographical information on my sources[2] when their work is first encountered. This relates directly to one of the major underlying themes in this report, that academics, professional data analysts, and the project teams themselves are notably more cautious in their interpretations than politicians and the general public.

For ease of reference, I will use a consistent set of acronyms to refer to various studies and organizations; here they are in one place. Goldstein (1993), an international expert (University of London) in the analysis of large-scale educational data, in a report prepared for UNESCO, claims that only a few studies "merit serious attention" (p 1), those by:

- *IEA*, the International Association for the Advancement of Educational Achievement, a democratically structured organization with decisions made collectively, and

- *IAEP*, the International Assessment of Educational Progress, an outgrowth of the U.S. *NAEP*,

National Assessment of Educational Progress, housed in *ETS*, the Educational Testing Service (Princeton, NJ), with an internal decision-making structure.

IEA studies are characterized by little central funding (and therefore authority), resulting in much more local variation and longer timeframes; IAEP studies are characterized by more central funding, resulting in a higher degree of imposed uniformity and much shorter timeframes. As I will argue below, however, in comparison to the IEA studies, those by IAEP are quite fundamentally flawed.

The IEA has carried out two mathematics studies and two science studies, and is currently engaged in a third study of both mathematics and science. They have also done other, much smaller studies that I will mention briefly, and which do not therefore need acronyms. The major studies:

- *FIMS*, the First International Mathematics Study (Hus_n, 1967);

- *FISS*, the First International Science Study (Comber & Keeves, 1973);

- *SIMS*, the Second International Mathematics Study (Vol 1, Travers & Westbury, 1989; Vol 2, Robitaille & Garden, 1989; Vol 3, Burstein, 1993a);

- *SISS*, the Second International Science Study (preliminary Report, IEA, 1988; Vol 1, Rosier & Keeves, 1991; Vol 2, Postlethwaite & Wiley, 1992; Vol 3, Keeves, 1992);

- *TIMSS*, the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (in progress, but see, for example, Robitaille, Schmidt, Raizen, McKnight, Britton, & Nicol, 1993).

Most of my comments will be on SIMS and SISS; Canada was not involved in FIMS or FISS, while no results are available from TIMSS.

The IAEP has conducted two studies. The first was published as a single volume covering both science and mathematics, while the second came out in separate volumes for the two subjects:

- *IAEP-1*, the first IAEP study, titled *A world of differences* (Lapointe, Mead & Phillips, 1989);

- *IAEP-2M*, the second IAEP study of mathematics, titled *Learning mathematics* (Lapointe, Mead & Askew, 1992);

- *IAEP-2S*, the second IAEP study of science, titled *Learning science* (Lapointe, Askew & Mead, 1992).
The above studies are all international in scope, but we are able as well to examine some within-Canada comparisons.

- The Canadian team responsible for our participation in SISS also produced a within-Canada report (Connelly, Crocker & Kass, 1989);

- The SIMS study treated Ontario and British Columbia as separate jurisdictions[3] (and the only Canadian jurisdictions);

- The IAEP-1 study treated four Canadian provinces, Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and New Brunswick, as separate jurisdictions;

- The IAEP-2M and IAEP-2S studies give separate data for nine Canadian provinces (excluding PEI).
In many of the above cases, separate analyses are available for English and French speaking students. There are also two excellent reports on Ontario's performance in SIMS (McLean, Wolfe and

Wahlstrom, 1987) and SISS (Connelly, 1987). Much of the discussion in these reports is at a more detailed (e.g., subtopic) level than is appropriate for the length and purpose of my report. Readers interested in detailed examination of mathematics and science teaching in Ontario are referred to the originals.

One additional acronym will be needed, *OTL*, for opportunity-to-learn. OTL is a measure of whether the material has been taught or not. With wide variations in curricular content throughout the world, such data is crucial to understanding achievement comparisons.

In this report I will deal first with the importance of test content, and its match with the curriculum. Second, I will deal with some fundamental limitations of international comparisons; these are problems that can be reduced but not eliminated by better planning or more money. Third, I will move on to serious difficulties in some of the interpretations of these studies, both in the original reports, and in some of the political and public re-examinations. Fourth, I will deal with the implications for Canada and Ontario, from two points of view: the question of methodological progress and the future of international studies in Canada and Ontario; and the results of the studies. I will report the results at a level of detail and with appropriate cautions that I hope will have been justified by the preceding sections, along with commentary on what they might mean for Canada and Ontario.

TEST CONTENT AND OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN

Subtopic weights and aggregate scores.

Is it true that, "if it looks like a math test, then it is a math test"? Can the details of the content of test items really matter? Are educators just being defensive when they talk of differential opportunity-to-learn (OTL)? An analysis by Wolfe (1989) on the IAEP-1 data for 13-year-olds tells the story. Wolfe, from OISE, has had various methodological leadership roles in SIMS, SISS, and currently TIMSS. The analysis is from a paper he presented at a conference sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation.

One of the major problems with IAEP-1 is that the investigators designed their instruments with no international involvement. Existing items from NAEP were selected by ETS staff and then sent to countries for expert judgment on OTL. The content selection of IAEP-1 was, like all of these tests, structured by subtopic. The mathematics test of 62 items had six subscales, ranging from 6 to 24 items, while the science test of 55 items had five subscales of 8 to 14 items. This meant that the relative sizes of the subtests determined the relative weighting of the subtopics in the aggregate score. However, these relative sizes were determined apparently without consultation, and apparently quite arbitrarily. Thus, by default, in the mathematics test, *Numbers and Operations* (24 items) became four times as important as *Relations, Functions and Algebraic Expressions* (6 items) and three times as important as *Problem Solving* (8 items).

There were, as is always the case, major differences across countries in subtopic OTL. As well as casting serious doubt on the meaning of the aggregate scores, these circumstances offered the opportunity for some interesting analysis. Wolfe found that by changing the relative weighting of the subtests to something more balanced, he could change the ranking of countries. In particular, the standing of the UK, which had relatively low OTL for the longest subtest, improved markedly when less weight was given to this topic. This example has nothing to do with whether the British curriculum *ought to* deal more with this topic; it simply shows that the actual items used can and do make a difference.

There is wide agreement that the IAEP-1 is a seriously flawed study. According to Rotberg (1990), of the National Science Foundation, "Because of the small sample size and acknowledged methodological problems, this assessment was labelled a 'pilot' - although this label has not been

reflected in the public rhetoric about the results" (p 298). Similarly, Goldstein (1993) states:

> "Despite a caveat in the introductory section, there is little in this same report which tries to convey the tentative nature of international comparisons, and the problems of translation and interpretation which are well recognised by those responsible for designing and analysing the assessments (p 11).

However, these flaws are not at the root of the problem exposed by Wolfe. Subtopics (or for that matter items) should be given some relative importance by countries, apart from the simpler judgment of OTL[4]. Since both OTL and relative importance will always vary, the weighting of subtests is critical to the interpretation of the scores. In extreme cases, such as the 3:1 and 4:1 weightings of IAEP-1, the problem is large enough to change country rank order. In a better designed test, the problem is still an often unrecognized contributor to error in the national rankings. This example points up (a) the importance of always examining achievement in the light of OTL, (b) the fact that aggregate scores are uninterpretable in the absence of detailed (that is, subtopic) information on both achievement and OTL, and (c) the absence of any sort of judgments on the relative importance of items or subtopics.

On the question of reporting aggregate scores, we have a difficulty. The general public and policy makers cannot, and cannot be expected to, deal at the level of subtopics, and thus they deal largely with aggregates. On the other hand, curriculum and assessment experts need to examine subtopic detail, both achievement and curriculum, because (a) that's the level at which change, if needed, has to be made, and (b) they know that the aggregate data is largely meaningless without the detail. Fruedenthal (1975), a Dutch professor of mathematics education and former editor of the international journal *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, soundly criticises the FIMS for failure to examine curriculum. Goldstein (1993) argues that "there is a strong case for refusing to report any comparisons in simple one-dimensional summary terms such as 'mathematics', 'science', or 'language'" (p 22). So, clearly, serious interpretation requires attention to subtopic detail. So far, only the SIMS study has managed to avoid what Goldstein calls "simple one-dimensional summary terms". All others have reported in such a manner that those so inclined can ignore the most important data.

For a final example, consider the longitudinal aspect of the SIMS study, in which the team made a methodological breakthrough by giving pretests and posttests to students (grade 8) in eight countries. Thus, there are three possible (and reasonable) definitions of achievement: up to grade 7 (pretest), up to grade 8 (posttest) and during grade 8 (the difference) (Burstein, 1993a). In the analysis, these different definitions led to different national rankings, and thus raised some fundamental issues. More on that later.

For now, my focus is on the OTL data on the 155 items in the longitudinal part of the SIMS. Burstein (1993b) took each of the eight countries in turn, "constructed" a test consisting of only those items that received at least an 80% OTL rating by that country, and then compared the performance of all countries on that test. He found substantial differences in rank order across these tests, in every case "improving" the performance of the country whose OTL data was the basis for test construction. Incidentally, this exercise produced easily the longest test for Japan, indicating (a) the SIMS test as a whole greatly favoured Japan, and (b) Japan teaches a lot more mathematics than other countries.[5]

So, in summary, it is not enough that a test *look like* a math (or science) test. The content is important, as is the OTL data. Changing content can change national ranking, and serious interpretation of the data needs to be at the subtopic level. As Schmidt, Wolfe and Kifer (1993) state in Volume 3 of the SIMS report, "Certainly, a 'total' score would be nonsensical" (p 64). And as Goldstein (1993) comments, aggregated scores amount to "one of the most misleading presentations of results" (p 12).

Measuring opportunity to learn.

Measuring OTL internationally is not as easy as it might appear. In principle, all that is required is a judgment on a scale such as "fully taught, partly taught, not taught". However, there are difficulties. First, countries vary in their educational and political bureaucratic structures, so that the judgments have to be made by people in different roles, depending on the country. For countries with tightly prescribed curricula, the information can come from policy documents, while in other countries, teacher surveys are required. Teachers, being closer to the classroom, will on average be better informed than administrators, but there is evidence that these sorts of judgments are difficult to make (Leinhardt and Seewald, 1981). For consistency in such judgments, training and standardized conditions are required, and these are difficult if not impossible in international studies. In fact, Goldstein (1993) mentions a current U.S. government-sponsored study to improve measurement of OTL.

Second, the data provided to those making the decisions has not been ideal in every case. In SISS and IAEP-2, decisions concerning OTL were made on descriptions of item content, rather than items themselves, possibly because of security concerns. Theisen, Achola and Boakari (1983) note that a security problem exists in international studies (all three authors have links to different countries in the Developing World, while Theisen is also appointed to an American university): "(Data received from cooperating countries and reported by Unesco (sic) are filled with curious statistical anomalies; certain data collected as part of IEA studies have also been labelled suspect)" · (p 53, brackets in the original).

Judging OTL from content descriptions might work, but a problem arises: with the amount of content involved, the information given to the raters cannot be very specific. In the SISS, for example, the content categories used are no more specific than chapter titles in a typical high school science text. One biology topic was *Metabolism of the organism*, while the detail provided at the high school level was *metabolism in organisms and the structural adaptations involved.* Similarly, for physics, we have the topic *Spectra* and for detail *electromagnetic spectrum, electron energy levels.* These descriptions are simply not detailed enough for accurate judgments of OTL. Solving this problem is feasible, but the resources required are considerable. SIMS, for example, asked for teacher judgments on the actual items (see Robitaille et al, 1993, for further information on how TIMSS will attempt to deal with this problem).

Finally, an issue unique to Canada. Crocker (1989), one of the leaders of the Canadian SISS study, and the former Dean of Education at Memorial University, wrote a reflection on SISS for the Economic Council of Canada. He notes that the indices of curricular validity in the SISS varied considerably across Canada, making the very notion of *national* level OTL suspect. Differential OTL within the country also raises questions about inter-provincial comparisons, "The diversity in curriculum found in Canada leads to a serious question of whether interprovincial achievement comparisons can have any meaning" (p 33). The answer to this question, but only after considerable debate among the project team, was yes.

Compromise, importance, and conflicting goals.

I suspect there is a widespread public belief that the test content that appears in international tests is more important than that which is left out. There is no evidence that this is the case. Plomp (1992), a professor of education at the University of Twente, the Netherlands, and chair of the IEA, recently wrote an article in a special issue, devoted to international comparisons, of *Prospects*, a UNESCO journal. Plomp pointed out that choosing test content is a matter of balancing fairness and commonality. If we are scrupulously fair, by requiring uniformly high agreement on OTL before including an item, we will not have enough content coverage in the test. So, the compromise is some consistency in OTL, reasonable content coverage, and insistence that the data only be interpreted in light of OTL. The key point is that notions of *importance* play no role in this discussion

- the focus is on fairness and commonality.

Crocker (1989), in the report to the Economic Council, notes that, in the process of choosing test content, there is rarely disagreement on what to put in; the issue, rather, is what to leave out. That is, what we might call *traditional* content usually wins agreement, while newer topics are the subject of dispute. To demonstrate Crocker's point, consider that one of the goals of SISS was to have as much as possible in common with the FISS. For the FISS, a set of 53 content categories was determined by agreement among the participating countries (Canada was not among them) in the late 1960s. The SISS project team, about 12 years later, started their process of content category formation with the 53 categories from FISS. Despite the intervening period of tremendous upheaval, even total revolution, in science education (in North America, CHEMStudy, PSSC Physics, BSCS Biology; in Britain, Nuffield science), only four new categories could be added. Little of the new emphases in science curricula reached the final SISS; these were largely omitted, despite attempts by some countries to have them included. Incidentally, the Council (Economic Council of Canada, 1992) seems to have greatly downplayed all the caution expressed by Crocker in his report - one of those odd cases where the consumer decides that the product is better than the producer claims.

The Economic Council of Canada (1992) claims that the content of recent international tests is flattering to Canadian curricula, but Theisen, Boakari and Achola (1983), writing from the perspective of the developing world, note that if a system is geared to turning out "predetermined labour quotas" (p 63) through national exams, it will have a more standardized curriculum. Comparisons with more flexible systems will be misleading[6]. In their view, the danger of misinterpretation is qualitative, not quantitative; one system is geared to factual knowledge and test taking skill, and another to student self-selection into areas of interest and perhaps ability. This thought, coupled with the failure of the science content to evolve substantially over the 1970s (between FISS and SISS), makes the undocumented Economic Council judgment highly suspect.

Finally, I raise the issue of conflicting goals within international studies, and the impact on test content, again using SISS as a two-part example. First, as already mentioned, the leaders of SISS wanted continuity with the FISS, so that they could make some comparisons over time. This probably held back the evolution of their test content to keep pace with curricular changes. In fairness, there was a new *scientific processes* component to the SISS, but only a few countries took part in it. Second, the SISS team also wanted to make comparisons of "growth" by comparing achievement of different age groups on the same items. This led to the unusual situation of the 14-year-old population writing a core test of 30 items, all but two of which were judged suitable for students either four years younger or four years older. This hardly speaks well for the curricular validity of the test.

In summary, the test content that could be agreed on among countries is not necessarily the most important. In addition, efforts at content continuity (e.g., FISS to SISS) may have hindered evolution of test content to keep pace with changing curricular needs.

INHERENT LIMITATIONS

The inherent limitations of these international studies centre around three issues. The first is the value system in which they are embedded, coupled with a general failure to recognize that international comparisons are not value-neutral. The second is the enormous differences, in so many ways, between countries: language, culture, wealth, educational system, governance, etc. As Theisen, Achola and Boakari (1983) comment, after discussing achievement studies within many countries, the root question is why the data are so "exasperatingly unpredictable from one context to the next" (p 50). The third issue concerns the limitations of testing, some inherent in any test, and others unique to large-scale and international testing.

My intent in discussing the first issue is simply to raise awareness. My intent in discussing the

last two (the distinction between them is not that clearcut) is to begin building the case, explored more fully in a later section, that within-country reanalysis of international data may be more fruitful than the international comparisons themselves.

Value systems.

The particular value implied by international studies is that the quality of nations, of their education systems, and of their people is defined by economic competitiveness. I'm not suggesting that the economy is not important, or that those countries not as economically successful as Canada ought to be happy with their lot. I'm also not arguing that the educational outcomes assessed by these studies are not important. What I do want to argue, however, is that there are viable value systems that offer reasonable alternatives to an economic view of humanity, and too much focus on comparative studies might force these alternatives out of the public conscience. The educational system is about more than training for economic success.

What are some candidate alternatives? One possibility is from the perspective of quality of life, social well-being, and mental health of the population. It's easy enough to imagine reasonable ways to get this kind of data. As a second alternative, one can argue that we will not solve the problems of the world until our habits change, until conspicuous consumption, rather than being the engine that drives our economy, is as socially unacceptable as smoking has become. As a third example, Friere (1970) argues that development of a sense of personal efficacy and self-awareness is required before any other type of education. Do international studies assess the relative quality of knowledge of human rights abuses around the world? Are we imposing on the less developed world a view of education that will make them happy consumers of Coca-Cola and Adidas, but that will deny them the self-fulfilment we in the developed world take for granted?

I raise these alternatives not to argue that we should agree with them, but simply that we should grant their existence. International comparative studies focus on a narrow - clearly important, but still narrow - view of education.

Social, organizational and economic differences.

I write this section with some uneasiness, for two reasons. First, since my main example is an American study, and U.S. media seem to dominate Canadian public discussion, I fear that I will contribute to the perception that American problems are our problems. Second, I worry that, by attempting to place education in a social context, I will be labelled, in Freedman's (1993) words, as hijacking the debate.

It's obvious enough that countries differ socially and economically, and most of this section deals with the question of interpreting achievement data in light of what we know are very influential factors. First, though, I need to caution that the meaning of social variables is not consistent across countries. For example, the influence of parental education differs with economic structure (e.g., between industrial and agrarian economies), and the very definition of many socioeconomic variables (e.g., *family*) is context dependent (Theisen, Achola and Boakari, 1983). Such concerns are of minor importance in comparing similar social systems, but they become increasingly important as more and more countries join international projects. TIMSS has upwards of 50 countries involved, many of them highly dissimilar.

One way in which countries differ, very pertinent to Canada, is in their patterns of immigration, and resulting language mix. Those who speak different languages at home and school tend to score relatively poorly (Elley, 1992[7]). Canada has one of the highest proportions of such students (Rosier and Keeves, 1991 - for French Canada; Robitaille & Garden, 1989 - for Ontario and BC). This is an inherent interpretive difficulty, very difficult to quantify, that is part of the context of international comparisons.

Richard Jaeger, director of the Center for Educational Research and Evaluation at the University of North Carolina, is a former president of the National Council on Measurement in Education. He recently wrote an article (Jaeger, 1992) interpreting US performance in light of their socioeconomic conditions. By any standard, our social problems are far less serious, and our educational system appears to be much better, but his comments are still worth our notice because of the academic and moral authority of the writer. Working from US data in FIMS and SIMS, he noted, among many examples, that from 30% to 60% of achievement variance can be "predicted by the poverty rate among children in single-parent households" (p 122).

He went on to cite similar figures for the influence of divorce rates and part-time employment among students, and then focused on socioeconomic differences between the US, Japan and Germany:

- within single parent families, 25% of US children have a 50% poverty rate, while one-seventh of German children have a 36% poverty rate, and only 6% of Japanese children live in single parent households (no poverty figure was given for Japan).

- divorce rates in the US are three times that of Germany and four times that of Japan.

He next reported an analysis showing that no variable that could be associated with schooling (class size, OTL, amount of homework, etc) accounted for nearly as much achievement variance as these out-of-school factors. He closed with the observation that there is more political debate in his country over being behind a half-dozen countries in achievement than there is about being ranked 28th in percent of children born with low birth weight, 19th in infant mortality, or, if we consider non-whites only, 56th in percent of children vaccinated against polio.

I did not seek comparable data on Canada; Canadian figures, I am sure, are not as bad. The relevance of my example, particularly the lack of US public outcry about the medical data, is that society recognizes that these are symptoms of deep-seated societal problems, and medical doctors are not blamed. Poor achievement, on the other hand, is seen as entirely the fault of the schools.

In summary, countries differ, and schools are socially embedded institutions. This must be kept in mind when interpreting international data.

Translation and language issues.

Another of the inherent limitations of international studies is that the tests are written in different languages. Most projects have worked in English and then had translations prepared. The basic technique is *back-translation*, in which material is translated into a target language, and then translated back, by someone else, for comparison. How well does this work?

First, I preface examples from Canadian experience with two observations: (a) in the international scheme of things, French and English are fairly similar languages, coming from fairly similar cultures, and (b) few other countries would have as much translation experience as Canada. Despite this, Crocker (1989) reports that the initial attempt to have both French and English Canada participate together in one Canadian SISS project had to be abandoned, due in part to irreconcilable translation differences. Second, consider a study by Hanna (1993), from OISE, the editor of *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, and an officer of the International Group for the Psychology of Mathematics Education. She worked with 174 items from SIMS, and using a panel of six translators, found significant differences in 70 of the items.

Why is this the case? Goldstein (1993), writing for UNESCO, provides some insight. Essentially, languages do not map onto each other in any simple way. A word in one language can have more

than one translation in another. These translated terms can differ in meaning and even level of abstractness, but both will be rendered back into the first language in the same way. Goldstein's example centres on two meanings of *expect*, as either *predict* or *hope for*. These and similar differences can and do lead to differences in item difficulty that have nothing to do with curriculum: "it is conceivable that the context-specific nature of a Japanese translation of numerical information may contain information which facilitates a correct response" (p 8).

Other difficulties arise from differences that are more cultural than linguistic. Goldstein (1993), for example, points out that some currency systems do not use decimals, so that an arithmetic item concerning, say, $1.45, *cannot be translated* into a corresponding item of similar difficulty in all cultures. I close this section with two anecdotal examples, passed to me by TIMSS staff. In the first, the phrase "Come alive with the Pepsi generation" came back in back-translation from Chinese as "Pepsi will bring back your ancestors". The second example concerns international discussion of an arithmetic item concerning a number of children in a classroom borrowing a number of books from the school library. International reaction ranged from "if a class is that small, they must be special students who cannot read" through "taking books from the library is stealing" to "our schools don't have libraries".

So, there are inherent difficulties crossing languages and cultures that no amount of effort or expense can eliminate.

Enrolment.

At the secondary school level, countries differ enormously in the proportion of the age cohort in school, the proportion who take mathematics or science, and the types of schools they attend. According to SISS data, the US, Korea, Japan and Canada, in that order, have the highest retention rates of students to end-of-high-school age. Korea and Japan, however, have substantial numbers of these students in technical or vocational schools which did not participate in SISS. Thus, the participating samples vary in their degree of elitism[8]. The proportion of the age group in SISS in schools that were eligible to be sampled varied from a high of 80% for the US to a low of 18% for Hungary. Canada was at 68%, Israel and Japan were over 60%, and all others were 41% and lower.

Even more marked are the differences in proportion of students who take advanced science courses. Figure 1 contains a plot of achievement versus enrolment as a proportion of the age group in biology for 18-year-olds. If we ignore these enrolment differences, we have such anomalous comparisons as between the 45% of Finnish students who take biology compared to the 5% in Hungary, England, or Singapore. This is, simply put, unreasonable.

English Canada[9] has either the highest (chemistry) or second highest (biology, physics) enrolment of the age group among the countries in SISS, and, thus, fairly low achievement compared to more elite systems. The authors of the SISS report offer due caution concerning achievement interpretations, and then ignore their own caution in all their major analyses. They go on to a secondary analysis for comparable small percentages of elite students, but unfortunately this seems to be misunderstood. Although the authors clearly argue that it is an attempt to examine the effect of teaching elite students in high-achieving homogeneous groups (Postlethwaite & Wiley, 1992, p 70), it has been interpreted by the Economic Council of Canada (as cited in Freedman, 1993, p 12) as achievement *adjusted for* retention rate. This ignores the fact that we are comparing the top five percent in one country, taught in elite circumstances, with the top five percent in another country, taught in a group with far less able peers. This interpretation misses the point entirely. As well, one might argue that if our perceived economic problem is the lack of availability of large numbers of well-trained workers for an increasingly high-technology economy, then surely the issue is not how well we do with the top five percent of students, but perhaps with the top half.

Postlethwaite and Wiley (1992) conclude, not incidentally, that there appears to be something

to gain by homogeneous grouping of elite science students. Apart from Canada's geography making this very difficult except in the cities, it raises some interesting value questions. It is debatable whether, as national policy, it is better to achieve excellent results with a very small elite, or to settle for lower achievement with a larger group. In simple terms, it is a matter of training scientific and mathematical leaders versus giving the general public better education.

At the risk of digressing, I note two points on the *general education* side. First, the level of scientific understanding in our culture, in my view, seems low. This is not a comparative point concerning other countries, but an observation that the decisions facing our society require more scientific understanding than is evidenced by the current quality of public discussion. The Science Council of Canada (as cited by Crocker, 1989) seems to concur. Second, secondary school is not the end of education for our scientific leaders. There is no good data on the ability of the tertiary education system to "catch up"[10]. But, given the immense cost and short half-life (to coin an analogy) of advanced training, it seems clear that employers will have to shoulder an increasing share of this cost. In comparison with other countries, Canada fails to do this (Prosperity Secretariat, 1991).

In summary, secondary school achievement data must be interpreted in light of enrolment and retention.

Sampling and participation.

The sampling procedure used in these studies is known as multi-stage *cluster sampling*. Countries are divided into strata (regions, provinces, urban-rural, counties, etc.), then schools are sampled within strata, and either all students in the target grade at each school or entire intact classes are tested. Response rate (agreement to participate) varies across countries. Generally speaking, centralized and totalitarian regimes get the best response rates, and decentralized democracies the poorest. As well, schools preoccupied with their own upcoming and more important testing, such as external exams, have tended to decline the invitation.

It is difficult to interpret the effect on comparative results of these differences across countries. Schmidt, Wolfe and Kifer (1993) report that only 30% of the targeted sample for SIMS in the US agreed to participate, and the rest of the sample was made up of "similar" schools. According to Jaeger (1992), commenting on the 71% and 74% response rates in the US for FIMS, "Response rates of the U.S. samples were below the threshold that is regarded as adequate by the NCES" [National Center for Educational Statistics] (p 119). If 70% response rate is the criterion, then one-quarter of the countries, including Canada, would be eliminated from SISS[11].

One could interpret differences in participation across countries as indications of amount of national interest or pride in doing well, or as cultural attitudes (which might equally well have been reported above under *cultural differences*). Such an interpretation would be supported by the anecdotal comments in the IAEP-2S report, with respect to, for example, Korea: "The feeling of self-discipline and serious attention to what they are about carries over into the assessment activity.... at this age, 12, 13, 14, students are expected to be responsible for their own serious behavior" (Lapointe, Askew & Mead, 1992, p 24). Compare this with the expectations our culture puts on young teens.

These interpretations are speculative on my part, and impossible to quantify, but such differences do form part of the context for interpreting international differences.

Test and score accuracy.

No test is perfect, and international studies all estimate the degree of accuracy of their national scores, typically as a confidence interval around the mean score. There are two problems with

these calculations. First, the procedure used for estimating error addresses the issue of how well the sample of students estimates the score of the target population, by examining the size of the sample, and how much students and schools differ from each other. If this is considered the only source of error, then the assumption required is that the items chosen to be asked *are* the content of interest. It may be more reasonable to assume that the items chosen are also just a *sample* of the items that might have been asked within the same content area. Thus, the error calculations reported in international studies should be considered underestimates. The extent of this underestimation is difficult to calculate without detailed data; however, it is more appropriate to consider both the students and the items, rather than just the students, to be samples from target populations.

The second problem is that identified by Wolfe (1989) and discussed above. If we changed the relative weighting of items or subtopics to reflect judged importance, scores would vary. This can be done, but international studies have not systematically examined relative importance of items.

In summary, estimates of score accuracy tend to be optimistic. We really ought to consider many scores close to each other to be tied. This relates to the inadvisability, discussed below, of reporting rank orders.

Summary.

This concludes the section on problems inherent in international studies. We must always keep in mind the social, cultural and economic differences between countries and the social context of education. Differences in language and culture make it very difficult to achieve accurate comparability of test question difficulty. As well, countries differ in enrolment and retention patterns, and levels of participation in international studies. Finally, tests of any type contain inherent unreliability, which can fairly easily be estimated more accurately than has been the case in international studies.

REPORTING AND INTERPRETIVE DIFFICULTIES

This brings me to questions of reporting, both in original studies and their re-interpretations. The problem of ignoring vastly differing subject enrolments in different countries will not be dwelt upon further. I do repeat, however, that public and political acceptance of these results is much less cautious than the views of the original report writers and other academics. I could fill several pages with comments from *all* of the studies examined, but I offer just one, from the third volume of the SIMS report (Burstein, 1993b), that captures both the problem and the author's solution: "We cannot escape the ideological use and misuse of cross-national data for political purposes. We can only hope to overwhelm the most base misrepresentations with the wealth of knowledge and understanding international studies provide" (p xxxi).

Score scales.

Scores can be reported in different ways, and how this is done can greatly influence the interpretation of results. One root problem already mentioned concerns reporting of total scores in the absence of subtest detail and OTL data. Apart from this very fundamental problem, there are others that stem from the manner of reporting scores.

One method of reporting is to rank order countries. Rank orders mask important information, as small and large differences are treated the same. Countries are often bunched together, and although the difference between fourth and tenth place may be trivial, this is not evident in the reporting. All the studies mentioned, except SIMS, do this. It would be easy to report countries in alphabetical rather than rank order, and it is hard to fathom why the studies fail in this regard, especially in light of all the cautions they offer against simple interpretations.

Another method of reporting is in percentage scores. This masks the shortness of many tests and exaggerates small differences. (It is, unfortunately, also very convenient for comparisons.) If two countries differ modestly by, say, one item on a 25-item test, a difference reported as "4%" feels larger, and the fact that the test could be written in one class period is buried. The 1988 preliminary report of SISS has received much more publicity than the 1992 final reports, probably due to its relative brevity and longer time of availability. This preliminary report, however, is based on analysis of tests of only 24 and 30 items. Finally, I note also that percentage correct in these studies tends to be low compared to school marks, making all results look poor, when in fact the contexts are quite incomparable.

A serious problem in reporting scores concerns the development of scaled scores using item response theory (IRT). In IRT, item difficulties and student scores are used to estimate the probability of getting an item correct for a given total score. Each item is assigned a value according to its level of difficulty. A student who gets a lot of easy items right would not score as highly as another who had the same number of more difficult items right. The advantages claimed for this treatment are that the student ability estimates are independent of the particular items in the test, and thus the ability of students can be compared even though they wrote different tests. These advantages, I note, are not realized in the cases I shall come to in a moment.

The problems with this method of reporting are threefold[12]. First, it assumes *unidimensionality* in the test, that is, that the items are measuring the "same thing" (e.g., *mathematical ability*), but at different levels of difficulty; easy items distinguish low from medium ability, and harder items distinguish medium from high ability. The counter argument is that mathematical ability is too complex to be considered "one thing". The dimensionality of tests can be investigated by examining the data, and this often results in dropping items that do not fit the model; this can weaken content coverage.

The second problem is that such manipulations tend to lose the audience. In Goldstein's (1993) words "The use of sophisticated statistical item response models... is an unwelcome development because it obscures too easily the true nature of what is occurring. The 'International Reading Scale'... is a striking example" (p 22). It is not easily explained, and can too easily be taken as correct and scientific simply because it involves some difficult mathematics.

The third problem is that such scaled data appear susceptible, in international use, to dubious interpretations. In both IAEP-1 and the IEA reading study (Elley, 1992) mentioned in the above quote from Goldstein, content-based interpretations have been attempted for normative data. The data were scaled, using IRT, to an arbitrary mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100. This means that the following (approximate) proportions were imposed on the data by the shape of the normal curve: below 300, 2%; 300s, 14%; 400s, 34%; 500s, 34% 600s, 14%; and above 600, 2%. The scaled scores were determined *solely* by ranking on the ability scale compared to other students. Then, characteristics of easy, medium and hard items were identified, and these were used as labels to describe the achievement at levels 300 through 700.

What's wrong with this? For the IAEP-1 science results, these associations were made:
- 300 - know everyday facts.
- 400 - understand and apply simple scientific principles.
- 500 - use scientific procedures and analyze scientific data.
- 600 - understand and apply intermediate scientific knowledge and principles.
- 700 - integrate scientific information and experimental evidence.

These labels are fine as descriptors of what happens when you move from easier to harder science content, but it seems quite unreasonable to *define* a scale so that, internationally, precise proportions of students *determined by the normal curve* could have their achievement so characterized. In fact, according to Jaeger (1992), a similar attempt by NAEP to develop this kind of interpretation was

declared a failure by the US General Accounting Office.

The same process was used for the IAEP-1 mathematics results and the IEA reading study. The reading study (Elley, 1992) is one of the two international studies not concerned with mathematics or science that I will mention. It suffers from several flaws, the most serious of which is that we are asked to accept that reading passages could be translated into many languages at equal levels of difficulty. This is both untestable and improbable. The second most serious flaw is the IRT scaling procedure, whose shortcomings I have just discussed.

Extreme groups.

Another problem in reporting international studies is to focus on elite students either by examining a given percentage of high achievers (SISS) or by setting an arbitrary definition of *excellent* and comparing the numbers of students reaching this level in different countries (SIMS). The problem is that this type of comparison greatly exaggerates differences, and, as mentioned, focuses attention on too small an elite. It also makes good estimation of error impossible.

The exaggeration problem arises from the shape of the normal curve. If two groups have a small difference in average achievement, any comparison at the tails (high or low extremes) will greatly exaggerate this difference, due to nothing more than the shape of the normal curve. The higher the standard, the greater the exaggeration. I did a small calculation using the type of data (means and standard deviations) reported in SISS, and found that a 5% difference at the mean translated into a 30-40% difference in the proportion of students exceeding a common, high "standard". The Economic Council of Canada (1992) reported SIMS results in terms of proportions of students reaching such a standard.

In addition to the exaggeration issue, the standards themselves need to be questioned. According to Jaeger (1992), the advanced standards for 13-year-olds posited by the IAEP-2 studies were declared *extreme* by the US General Accounting Office.

Confounding enrolment and achievement.

Another reporting difficulty arises from an attempt to adjust achievement for enrolment. For example, a quick reading of the SIMS data for 13-year-olds shows the US doing no better than one quite impoverished developing country. A closer reading reveals that virtually all of the age cohort in the US is in school, while for the developing country, only about one-third of the age group attend school. The adjustment suggested is, in effect, to multiply the achievement by the enrolment to obtain a kind of overall "gross cognitive improvement". This has the effect of making the comparison between the US and the developing country more reasonable, but at a price.

The price is that enrolment and achievement are confounded. For one thing, this calculation would show the same "effectiveness" if enrolment went up 10% and achievement down 10%. For another, in effect it assumes that those not in school would score zero on the test. And most important, it can be misinterpreted to blame the schools for failing to teach those who are not in attendance. There is a fine line between this problem and what I attempted to demonstrate in Figure 1 concerning differing enrolments. Achievement and retention are both important, but they need to be kept separate.

Some examples

I have organized my comments above according to themes, rather than by taking each study in turn and pointing out what I consider to be its limitations. A possible counterargument to my critique is to suggest that not all studies share all flaws (this is true). A reader could interpret much of my caution as academic quibbling; indeed, one can assume that because these cautions are not part of

the public discussion, some have already made such a judgment. Surely there are good things to say about these studies (there are), and it's possible that their strengths outweigh their weaknesses. In other words, am I focusing on the methodological weaknesses and ignoring the strengths?

If I have been emphasizing flaws, then other interpretations of international studies should be more balanced, showing both appropriate and questionable interpretations in rough proportion to the strengths and limitations of the original reports. Thus, I addressed the question of the extent to which other writers fell into or managed to avoid the interpretive traps described above. I looked at a Canadian re-examination of international data, the Economic Council of Canada (ECC) 1992 report *A lot to learn: Education and training in Canada*. I also have some brief comments on Freedman's 1993 *Failing grades: Redirecting Canada's educational debate*. Freedman's work shows the danger of re-examining interpretations, rather than looking at original reports.

I must report that these studies, far from presenting a balance of hard-to-criticize and easy-to-criticize results, seem to focus on aspects of the original studies that are very easy to criticize. Freedman's (1993) work also shows that the ECC report has been influential, and that errors of interpretation propagate. I offer the following.

The ECC Figure 7, (1993, p 8) shows SISS end of high school results "adjusted for retention and years of schooling", based on Crocker (1989) and Statistics Canada data (no reference given). The first problem is that the ECC ignores Crocker's advice that the sample sizes are too small for interprovincial comparisons (e.g., Newfoundland's chemistry data is based on 88 students). The second problem is that Crocker's original results (pages 57-58) appear to be different from the ECC figures. The ECC puts Newfoundland's achievement at 41% that of BC, while Crocker has it between 61 and 76%, depending on the test. The ECC reports Saskatchewan and Ontario as virtually tied, while Crocker's results place Saskatchewan achievement between 66 and 87% that of Ontario. The reader cannot tell how they adjusted for retention and years of schooling, but even multiplying by 12/13 (grade 12 versus grade 13), a fairly questionable adjustment, Ontario achievement is still ahead of Saskatchewan.

Figure 8 (p 9) in the ECC report is such a disturbing example of inappropriate interpretation that it requires a departure from my original intent to stick to international studies. In this figure, they report data on national achievement trends on the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills (CTBS) for four years: 1966, 1973, 1980, and 1991. Here is what I find wrong with their analysis:

- First, this comparison assumes that the topics tested have maintained the same OTL for a period of 25 years in Canada. How can anyone believe that?

- Second, to my knowledge, there has never been a published study of the relationship of this test to *any* Canadian curriculum. CTBS is a Canadianization of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, developed for the mid-1950s Midwestern US curriculum. Over the years, basic content has not changed. Informal studies that I am aware of[13] have been very negative about its curricular validity. My own study (Nagy, 1986), in the *Canadian Journal of Education*, showed CTBS to be seriously flawed, especially for low achieving students.

- Third, the years for which data are reported are near the years in which new versions of the test were normed. These data appear to come from the test equating studies done at the time of renorming and the results are likely (I have to speculate due to absence of data) based on test equating procedures that many measurement experts challenge.

- Fourth, the graphs exaggerate changes by using a baseline of 80%, not 0%, visually magnifying differences by a factor of five. Median differences that show a drop of 6% over 25 years appear as drops of 30%. Tufte (1983) an expert on data display, in the chapter of his graphing text titled *Graphical Integrity*, shows several examples of this practice, labelling them "graphics that

fail to tell the truth" (p 54), "the lie" (p 54), and "distortion" (p 55).

The ECC report touches on many aspects of education and training. When they use the international comparative information and the CTBS trends, however, they seem to miss the mark.

What appear to be interpretive errors on the part of the Economic Council have entered the public arena. Freedman (1993) repeats the highly misleading CTBS results. He also (Figure 1, p 11) repeats SIMS data from an ECC Report on number of students over a criterion (76% correct) at the end of high school. This focus on extreme groups, criticised above, makes Ontario achievement appear to be about 28% that of Japanese. In fact, Ontario and seven of the 14 countries are virtually tied in third place, behind Japan and Hong Kong. Over the various subtopics, Ontario achievement ranges from 69 to 87% of Japan's, depending on the subtest. This gap is substantial, but not as big as Freedman's focus on extreme groups implies.

Freedman's Figure 2 shows average end-of-high-school SISS results for different countries, "corrected for years of schooling and retention rate" (p 12). It is difficult to duplicate and verify the Economic Council of Canada calculations, or to even know what they were, as Freedman appears to have given an erroneous reference. However, working from the original SISS source, I was unable to invent any adjustment to get French Canada up to the level of English Canada, as Freedman reports, or to get Hong Kong Forms 6 and 7 as close as Freedman reports. Similarly, I could not find any way to adjust for the vast differences in enrolment between, say, Canada's 25% taking chemistry versus England's 5%, nor could I find any justifiable way to combine the three sciences, given their greatly differing relative enrolments in different countries.

Freedman's Figure 3 (p 13) contains IAEP-1 mathematics results, expressed as proportions of students across jurisdictions (a mixture of Canadian provinces and other countries) achieving the already-criticized "levels" of 300 to 700. This is the study dismissed as a "pilot" by Rotberg (1990) of the US National Science Foundation. Freedman gives a criterion-referenced interpretation to the data, relying on the labels for the levels, and indicating no awareness that, for example, level 700 is *defined* to be reached by only about 2% of the international population.

Freedman describes IAEP-2 results in mathematics and science. Ontario was described as "only matching the United States students in mathematics and falling behind them in science" (p 14). In fact, all the differences in both mathematics and science between Ontario and the US are insignificant (that is, small enough to be attributable to chance). The science results show Ontario slightly behind at age 9, but even at age 13. Is that really "falling behind"?

He goes on to speculate on the higher achievement, in 1990-91 (IAEP-2), of the two western provinces compared to the rest of the country. He suggests two reasons, the presence of "mandatory student testing" (p 14) and the benefit of high immigration from Pacific countries with better school systems. On the first issue, Alberta and BC reintroduced[14] provincial exams in 1984 and 1983 respectively (US GAO, 1993), but the east-west achievement patterns were just as evident for SISS as for IAEP-2. SISS tested between 1983 and 1986, far too early for any curricular impact of the reintroduced exams, especially for the younger students. On the second issue, I can offer better unsupported speculation than Freedman can on why the West does better, such as higher parental education (IAEP-2) and immigration policies that favour wealthier Asian immigrants educated in English.

So, in summary, in an influential policy document, the ECC report, we have several problems, many of them duplicated in Freedman's report aimed at parents. My criticism sounds harsh. My intent is not to debunk the international comparative programs, but to suggest appropriate caution in interpreting their results. The well-designed parts of international studies (e.g., subtopic achievement viewed in the context of OTL) are hardly mentioned in these reinterpretations. Not all tests suffer from all flaws, and much progress has been made. I agree with Connelly both when

he is pessimistic, "these results are at least as interesting as public opinion" (Connelly, 1987, p vii) and when he is optimistic, "those who simply dismiss the test results are a minority" (Connelly, Crocker and Kass, 1989, p 12). I now turn to the future of these tests.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ONTARIO AND CANADA

Methodological progress.

I will begin with two asides to my main points. First, SIMS found a way to make it difficult to engage in simplistic comparisons, and my understanding is that TIMSS will report in a similar manner. While there will be those that claim this is an attempt to "hide the truth", I view it as a positive development. It will force public attention on more substantive issues than horse-race interpretations in the absence of any ancillary data.

Second, another positive development can be seen in an IAEP experiment in performance assessment (Semple, 1992). Almost all of the data discussed in international studies is based on multiple-choice technology. This is an issue that I have not discussed, but reliance on multiple-choice testing puts severe limits on how much of a curriculum a test can cover. Semple's work, on small samples, showed that respectable data can be collected in a cost-effective manner, by less constraining means.

My main point in this section concerns progress towards the goal of understanding why achievement varies. I have said little about the ancillary data, beyond achievement and OTL, available in the international studies. All of the studies collect much information, on schools, teaching practices, societies, families, and a host of other issues with potential to help explain achievement differences. This data, intended to be explanatory, remains largely untapped.

The principal method of reporting such data is in lists. An interested reader can scan one of these reports and see where Canada or Ontario sits with respect to others on everything from teacher salaries through hours of television viewing, parental education, gender attitudes with respect to mathematics and science to amounts of homework. It is easy to form informal hypotheses on the relative importance of these factors, and this is one great lure of international studies. These hypotheses take the form: "I see (choose a country) is ranked about the same in achievement as they are in (choose a factor). How strong is this link? And is it causal?" This is why we do these studies, and we need to ask how likely it is that this approach will work.

How to make education better is an extremely complex problem, because (a) we have yet to really reach consensus on what would constitute improvement, (b) *improvement* won't necessarily be the same for all of us, given the complexity of our society and peoples, and (c) we don't really know how to improve education, despite those who continue to believe that simply giving more uniform tests alone will do it. Understanding rather than merely describing achievement variation is a first step to change.

The general approach to doing the sort of statistical analysis that would address these hypotheses and provide the kind of answers we seek is called *multiple regression.* By looking at several factors in conjunction with achievement across the countries, you can examine how much variability in student achievement can be associated with variability in each factor. You can, in theory, identify the relative importance of different factors, which break down into those you can change (school factors) and those you have to live with (societal factors). This gives a tentative *explanation* of how education works, and how it might be improved. There are several problems.

The technique doesn't work unless you have a large number of jurisdictions, typically more than the number of countries involved in international studies. If you do involve enough jurisdictions, then you end up examining very dissimilar societies, where the factors don't mean the same thing.

Even between countries as similar as Canada and the US, relatively straightforward factors like per-pupil spending carry different meanings because of organizational differences. When countries differ substantially, the data are harder to get and less accurate in some countries compared to others. Further, the relative importance of factors varies with the context - the school subject, the age of the students, the socioeconomic situation. Not only do all these problems introduce error, but error that cannot even be estimated accurately.

Most important, national data is at the wrong *level*. Variation across countries does not translate directly into corresponding variation across schools, and that in turn does not translate into variation across individuals. The factors that influence achievement, such as parental education, OTL, and educational spending operate more locally than at the level of a national average. If we want to know how strong relationships are, then we must examine variability across individuals; we cannot extrapolate from variability across groups. So, in a sense, national data is barking up the wrong tree.

So, it seems unlikely that multiple regression of international data across countries will lead to good explanatory models of education. Then why bother? I can give several reasons.

First, I judge it would be both politically foolish and politically impossible to withdraw with the current level of public concern about education as it is.

Second, this enterprise is in its infancy. In just a few decades of large-scale quantitative examination of educational data, we have learned to ask better questions. At the level of the studies themselves, and not the political and public reinterpretations, simplistic (with hindsight, I hasten to add) analyses have been rapidly replaced by a more sophisticated arsenal: preliminary causal models in the SIMS data; multi-level analysis as proposed by Goldstein (1993); a better approach to error estimation (Wolfe, 1989); and the use of pretest and posttest data on the same groups (Burstein, 1993a) to yield different conceptions of achievement. This last development is very new[15]. It will take several years for researchers in the field to sort out its implications. We should be optimistic. Each of the criticisms of these studies that I have summarized has led to suggestions for a better way to do things. That's the way understanding progresses, and it is far too early to abandon a developing field.

Third, even though international comparative data cannot be used very easily in multiple regression, countries can still learn from each other. If all countries work with the same broad set of variables, similar countries can learn from each other's within-country analyses: examining the same variables, learning from each other's mistakes, and avoiding costly deadends.

Fourth, we are building an international network of knowledgeable educational researchers, especially in the Developing World, whose skills will serve their educational systems in many other ways than these investigations. We know more about many kinds of data analysis, thanks to these investigations, and these studies have interested an immense variety of nations in their own educational systems.

The results for Canada and Ontario.

I have not said very much about Canadian and Ontario results yet. On the one hand, I believe I have justified ignoring at least some of the results on methodological grounds. On the other hand, I hope I have explained my concerns sufficiently that readers can be left to judge for themselves which results are worth examining. I recognize that I am not writing for specialists who want detailed subtopic information, but I also recognize that bald horse-race comparisons are inappropriate. So, with reminders of the main caveats, I present a brief summary of results, beginning with some general points:

- First, these studies all involve different countries. There is no consistent core set of countries who have joined all the projects. Those countries who have been in the IEA studies tend not to be in the IAEP studies. This limits generalizability.

- Second, relationships between OTL and achievement at the national level are modest. If the data are analyzed at the individual rather than group level, the relationship tends to be stronger.

- Third, I have not mentioned gender differences. Virtually all studies show an advantage for boys in both mathematics and science, and put Canada very near the middle of countries in the size of this advantage.

- Fourth, there have been attempts to measure growth by using the same items in two projects (FISS and SISS; FIMS and SIMS) or by having different age groups write the same items in the same project (SISS). These I judge largely unsuccessful, mostly because they deal with *when* different countries teach a topic, rather than *whether* or *how well*. My summary will not deal with these.

- Fifth, I'm not going to name the countries that bring up the rear. Canada is never among them, and they are mostly in the Developing World.

- Sixth, *significance* or the lack of it refers to the likelihood of a difference being due to chance. This should not be confused with *importance*.

- Seventh, some of my language is necessarily qualified: some estimation has been necessary in my recalculations of errors, yielding terms such as *probably* significant; some of the "countries" are, in fact, provinces, cities, or other units, yielding phrases such as *about* five countries.

The major results comparing Canada to other jurisdictions at elementary school ages for IAEP and SISS studies are displayed in Figure 2. Ontario's position compared to the rest of Canada in IAEP and SISS-elementary, the SISS high school results, and the SIMS data, are presented in the text.

IAEP-1. This study is seriously flawed. They used US items, arbitrary subtest weighting, and no OTL data. They focused on extreme groups, and attempted criterion-referenced interpretations of normed data. No source I have read has said anything good about this study. I suggest that it be ignored.

IAEP-2. This study is an improvement over the IAEP-1. It involved 15 countries, three of them (USSR, Israel, Spain) limited to only one language group, and two more geographically limited units (one province in Italy, 15 cantons in Switzerland). The OTL data is weak, coming from school administrators who reported school emphasis in *very* broad categories (e.g., plants, animals). There is a lot of classroom, home and individual data. As Figure 2 shows, Canada is typically behind two or three countries, tied with a large number, and ahead of a small number. Within Canada results, with no OTL data, are as follows:

- Science for 13-year-olds: Alberta is about 10% ahead of English Ontario, while French Ontario is about 20% behind Alberta.

- Science for 9-year-olds: four participating provinces are virtually tied, with the exception of French Ontario, which is 15% behind the leader, BC.

- Mathematics for 13-year-olds: French Quebec and French Saskatchewan lead the country; English Ontario is 16% behind; French Ontario is 23% behind.

- Mathematics for 9-year-olds: English Ontario is insignificantly 12% behind French Quebec and 8% behind English Quebec. French Ontario is 17% and 13% behind the same jurisdictions.

SISS-Elementary. The SISS study is much better than either of the IAEP studies. It involved 23 countries, and there is thorough within-Canada data. The study is hampered by OTL data based on vague descriptions of material, and a somewhat small number of items at the high school level. For age 10, the OTL data tends to be low, indicating great international variability in curricula. For age 14, OTL data tend to be higher for this age group. In my view, the original reports have engaged too much in horse-race comparisons, despite their own warnings.

As Figure 2 shows, Canada is behind three countries (different countries at each age), ahead of most at age 10 and a few at age 14. Within Canada, we must keep in mind Crocker's (1989) caution that OTL varied across Canada. Sample sizes preclude detailed comparisons: although provincial data is available, I accept Crocker's (1989) recommendation and report only comparisons among Ontario, Quebec, the East, and the West. For SISS, Figure 2 contains results for English Canada, excluding English Quebec, whose results (Connelly, Crocker & Kass, 1987) are about 5% below the national average at age 10, and 2% above the average at age 14. French Canada results are 4-5% lower than Figure 2.

SISS-End of high school. OTL data is uniformly quite high (that reported for chemistry in Canada is an error). French Canada does much poorer than English Canada, but the French sample is largely Quebec grade 11, while the English sample is about one-third Ontario grade 13. I have not, therefore, included French Canada results. We have data for *vastly* differing proportions of students taking the subjects:

- in biology (see Figure 1), proportions of Canadians enrolled are *much higher* than all countries except Finland. Achievement is in the lower third of countries. It is as high as Australia, Sweden and Japan, who have two-thirds the enrolment. Four countries do about 30% better with one-quarter the enrolment; and four others do 20% better with one-third the enrolment.

- in chemistry, no other country has even two-thirds the enrolment of Canada. Three countries do 30-40% better with one-third the enrolment and about seven more do 20-30% better with one-sixth to two-thirds Canada's enrolment. Five countries do no better, even with far lower proportional enrolment.

- in physics, Canada is second to Norway and tied with Italy in enrolment. One cluster of five countries with about half Canada's enrolment do 25% better, and a second cluster with about two-thirds the enrolment do 15% better. Hong Kong does extremely well with about half Canada's enrolment.

We also have data for high achieving constant proportions of students, but taught in circumstances of greatly varying class homogeneity. This analysis exaggerates differences, and we don't have the data to estimate error.

- in biology, for the top 3% of the age group, English Canada is in a middle cluster of most countries, with three somewhat ahead, and three behind.

- in chemistry, for the top 5% of the age group, differences across countries are very large. Canada is just about in the middle, with only five countries close. England, Japan, and Hong Kong are well ahead, and Norway, Finland, and Korea well behind.

- in physics, for the top 4% of the age group, the pattern is similar to chemistry: Japan and Hong Kong are well ahead, while Italy, Finland and Hungary are well behind. The rest (nine countries) cluster in the middle.

It is interesting to note that, at the high school level, countries appear to place emphasis on different sciences. Their relative achievement varies greatly across the three sciences: Hong Kong, followed closely by Japan, are clear leaders in physics and chemistry; Finland and Israel do very well in biology, but are in the middle in the other sciences.

Within Canada comparisons are confounded by age differences; the sampled students all conformed to the international definition of amount of science exposure, but they varied from Grade 11 in Quebec to Grade 13 in Ontario, with the rest of the country at Grade 12. It is difficult to estimate the effect of differences in development and maturity. As well, these within-Canada comparisons are without benefit of OTL data, which Crocker (1989), one of the main data analysts of Canada's SISS data, considers to be a substantial limitation. Data for English Canada for the East, West, and Ontario (excluding English Quebec) come from Connelly, Crocker and Kass (1989). Data from Connelly, Crocker & Kass (1987) show English Quebec students (at least a year younger) are about 16, 7, and 3% below the national averages in biology, chemistry and physics respectively.

On the question of comparing students from grade 13 in Ontario versus grade 12 in the East and West, we can get figures on the relative elitism of the groups in terms of enrolments. In biology, elitism seems to work to Ontario's advantage over the East and West; Ontario has about two-thirds the enrolment in biology. In chemistry, Eastern enrolment is similar to Ontario's, and both are at an advantage (i.e., lower enrolment) with respect to the West. In physics, enrolments are very similar in all three areas. The comparative data show (some of these figures are estimated from graphs):

- For age 10, Ontario was at the national average, and about 2% below the West.

- For age 14, Ontario was at the national average, about 1% below the West.

- For end of high school:
  - For biology, Ontario was 4% above the national average.
  - For chemistry, Ontario was 5% above the national average.
  - For physics, Ontario was 3% above the national average.

SIMS. The SIMS project appears to be the best of the set reviewed. It reports by subscales, has better OTL data, and a large number of items. There are results for 14-year-olds, and for those at the end of high school. Canada is represented by BC and Ontario only, reported separately. Reporting is graphical, by subtest, with OTL information directly on the achievement graphs. For the younger group there are five subtests, and for the older there are six subtests, with two of these divided further. For the younger group, a summary is provided (Robitaille & Garden, 1989, p 124) in standard scores (z-scores) which will allow some comparisons without requiring subtest detail. Results are as follows for the 14-year-olds:

- Relative to their own scores in the five subtests:
  - Ontario had its best performance in Arithmetic and poorest in Algebra;
  - BC had its best performance in Arithmetic, and poorest in Geometry and Measurement (a tie).

- Relative to other countries (20 jurisdictions in total) and giving equal weight to the subtests (an arbitrary decision on my part):
  - Ontario was significantly behind seven countries and ahead of seven; Ontario was behind Japan by 24%, and the Netherlands and Hungary by 15%; in OTL, Ontario was behind Japan by 11% and Hungary by 21%; Ontario was ahead of the Netherlands in OTL by 7%.
  - BC was significantly behind four countries and ahead of 13; BC was behind Japan by 16%, and Hungary and Netherlands by 10%; BC average OTL data was almost identical to that of Ontario.

For the end-of-high-school group, the most significant factor is the proportion of the age group in school and taking mathematics. As with the SISS science data, retention and enrolment play a dominant role in average achievement. This is dramatically illustrated by the fact that Hungary, which does very well at the 14-year-old level, has the lowest achievement of all jurisdictions at end of high school, probably because of its huge enrolment of the age group (See Figure 3a). No other jurisdiction, except BC at 30%, comes close to Hungary's 50% of the age cohort taking mathematics. The best way to convey a sense of the SIMS achievement levels is by examining clusters of countries with similar enrolments. For convenience, I report all achievement giving equal weight to subtests, an arbitrary decision on my part.

Hungary and BC have such high enrolments in mathematics[16] that Figure 3 has been drawn both including and excluding their data. Figure 3b allows a better presentation of the data for the remaining countries. With reference to Figure 3b, Ontario achievement is between that of two countries with similar enrolment, Scotland and Finland, and near the middle of a group of six countries with about two-thirds Ontario's enrolment, considerably better than the US and considerably poorer than Japan. Of the three remaining countries with about one-third Ontario's enrolment, Ontario does poorer than two, and slightly better than one. The influence of OTL could be introduced into the above data, making the situation even more complex. I omit that, hoping that my discussion of the role of OTL for the 14-year-old group suffices.

Like the SISS study, SIMS also examines the achievement of the top students in constant proportions (top 5% and 1%), but with differing levels of elitism in their classrooms. These results, for the top 5% only, are given for three of the six subtests. First, a reminder that these data exaggerate differences, and make it difficult to get a good estimate of error:

- For algebra, BC and Ontario appear tied with two other jurisdictions, slightly behind Japan, and ahead of the others;

- For geometry, BC and Ontario appear tied with five other jurisdictions, slightly behind Japan, and ahead of the others;

- For elementary functions and calculus, Ontario is tied with five other countries, slightly behind Japan, and ahead of the rest; BC lags because their OTL for calculus is very low (they don't teach it).

In summary, Canada's results for elementary age groups are fairly consistent; well in the top half or third of the countries, and usually behind two or three leaders. At end of high school, interpretation is complicated by very large differences in enrolment and retention. Canada tends to have higher enrolments, and correspondingly lower achievement. When smaller high achieving groups are isolated, the Canadian high school relative results appear to be fairly similar to those for elementary school.

The data for within-Canada comparisons is limited. There is a rough trend of achievement increasing from east to west (as do many socioeconomic variables), but many exceptions to this can be found. Generally, within-Canada differences *supported by good data* are small, in the order of 5%, except for the low performance of French Ontario. All of the within-Canada comparisons are hindered by lack of good OTL data.

Conclusions.

The problem posed to me when I agreed to this project was to examine the implications of international studies for Ontario and Canada. I think that opportunity-to-learn is a good starting point for such a discussion.

In many ways, the OTL data are more compelling than the achievement results. I have tried to be clear that differential OTL makes tests differentially fair as comparisons. However, the reason behind differential OTL is that some countries teach a lot more mathematics or science than others. This makes the achievement comparisons questionable, but also raises the issue of whether we ought to be teaching more mathematics and science. I have demonstrated, I hope, that a topic agreed upon for inclusion is not necessarily more important than material not included. However, when one country gives high OTL to twice as many items as another country, it certainly must raise the question of whether that second country is teaching enough.

Having said that, I want to reiterate that achievement data on material not taught is irrelevant. The question of whether we want to teach more material is settled by examination of subject matter content and societal needs, and not the achievement results. The comparative OTL data point to the problem, and curricular analysis answers it.

A basic value question concerns the degree of elitism we want in our schools. As I stated above, my reading of society's needs tells me that we need to have many more people educated in science and mathematics than a tiny elite. Given our geography, I don't think we can run a dual system of super-elite classes for the top 5% and a less elite program for another 30%. As things are now, it would either exacerbate urban-rural differences and/or put some students on school buses for far too long. Apart from a high-tech distance education model, we probably have to learn to do better with our current less elite systems. There is also the additional problem that an elite system might be very hard to implement in a *culture* that implicitly assumes that university is the appropriate destination of all our children, and which continues to send 70% of students to the university-bound stream.

For the future, I think Canada and Ontario should continue to participate in these studies, and try to learn from them. The only way to fight politically-motivated misuse of data is with better data and better understanding.

As for the results themselves, we need research on explanatory mechanisms that make sense within Canada. I suspect individual and class level socioeconomic data would go a long way to explaining within-Canada variations. The reality is that no variable in the control of the school system has ever been shown to be as powerful a determinant of educational achievement as student background variables. But, as data analysts tend to say, we need more data. I feel *concern* rather than *worry* or *panic* about the results. Stepping back from the entire data set, it seems that we have the most room for improvement in elementary mathematics.

Performance in mathematics or science is a culturally-embedded problem. As a teacher of statistics to beginning researchers, I can attest to the math-phobic nature of our culture. It appears quite acceptable for an educated person to say "it was all math and stuff and I couldn't understand it". The normal cultural response to this is a sympathetic nod, and certainly few doubts about the quality of the person's education. In contrast, the likely societal reaction to a parallel statement "it was all poems and history and stuff and I couldn't understand it", would be serious concern. We need to change *cultural* attitudes to mathematics and science, so that basic understanding becomes, in our eyes, one sign of an educated person.

The idea of putting more mathematics or science in the curriculum raises the question of where the time will come from, for it will have to come from somewhere. It can't be created by "taking up the slack". Societies differ, and the schools within them reflect these differences; some cultures take education more seriously than others, and as the anecdote from Korea exemplifies, some cultures expect more from children. Everybody involved in education, students, parents, teachers, administrators, data analysts and report writers, vary in ambition, energy, common sense, and skill. This is the context in which we have to find solutions to problems.

The political arena is filled with indefensible rhetoric, ranging from optimistic calls to national pride involving chants of "We're number one!" (or, more properly, "we're going to be number one") to pessimistic dismissals of the educational system as mismanaged, overfunded, and lazy. Simplistic threats or exhortations will not work. To get more science or mathematics into the curriculum will require time, money, and the willingness to take something else out. That is a fundamental value question that needs to be answered.

Endnotes

[1] I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Xiaofang Shen in the preparation of this report.

[2] I do this not for the original international project leaders, but for commentators, and only when the information is readily available.

[3] In the international context, I will use the term *country* to refer to all jurisdictions including provinces. Within Canada, similarly, I will use *provinces* to refer to both provinces and territories.

[4] This rating of importance, over and above OTL, has not been attempted, to my knowledge, in any of these studies.

[5] Again, the OTL data, rather than poor performance on untaught material, should cause us to examine our curriculum.

[6] Again, the issue is not whether any curriculum *should* be more or less flexible; the issue is the meaning of the results.

[7] Elley's study was of reading, but the point stands for mathematics and science.

[8] We may wish to debate the advisability of such schools in Canada, but that is a separate question from the issue of whose achievement results are being compared.

[9] These data come from the preliminary report of the SISS, published before the French Canada study was completed.

[10] I have no evidence at hand, but there do not appear to be vast numbers of our high school graduates leaving the continent for post-secondary education.

[11] Other studies do not make this data readily available, although it may be in a technical appendix I have not been able to access.

[12] The measurement community is split on the advisability of item response modelling; competent people can be found on both sides of the issue.

[13] I was, for 1977-79, the supervisor of Newfoundland's testing program, and responsible for the administration of this test to 12000 or so students every year.

[14] Historically, most provinces had provincial exams, but dropped them some 20 or 30 years ago.
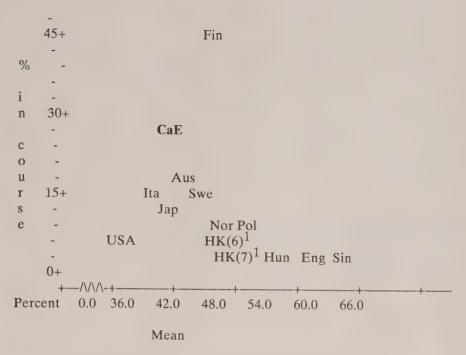
[15] I was lucky to get a copy of this volume. It may be the only one in Toronto. Even one of the contributing authors, Richard Wolfe, did not have his copy at time of writing.

[16] These results are for BC Grade 12 and Ontario Grade 13.

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       +—/\/\/\-+————+————+————+————+————+————+———
 Percent  0.0  36.0    42.0   48.0   54.0   60.0   66.0

                        Mean
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[1]Hong Kong was divided into two groups, Form 6 and Form 7;

Aus, Australia; CaE, Canada (English); CaF, Canada (French); Eng, England; Fin, Finland; HKo, Hong Kong; Hun, Hungary; Isr, Israel; Ita, Italy; Jap, Japan; Kor, Korea; Net, Netherlands; Nor, Norway; Pol, Poland; Sin, Singapore; Swe, Sweden; USA, United States.

Figure 1: SISS Biology Results, Population 3, Achievement versus Enrolment

	Canada OTL	Canada behind (% age behind)	Canada tied with	Canada ahead of
IAEP-2S (age 13)	just below median	Korea, Taiwan (10-12%)	about 12 countries	about 2 countries
IAEP-2S (age 9)	no data	Korea (7%, not significant)	about 12 countries	about 2 counties
IAEP-2M (age 13)	just above median	Korea, Taiwan (15%)	about 12 countries	about 1 country
IAEP-2M (age 9)	no data	Korea (20%) Taiwan (12%) Hungary (10%)	about 6 countries	about 6 countries
SISS (age 10)	just below median	Korea, Findland, Japan (all 5%)	about 2 countries	about 18 countires
SISS (age 14)	near median	Hungary (14%) Japan (9%) Netherlands (5%)	about 5 countries	about 6 countries

Figure 2: IAEP and SISS Results, Elementary School Ages

```
          -         Hun
          -
      45+
          -
 %        -
 i        -
 n        -
      30+        BC
 c        -
 o        -
 u        -
 r        -        Sco      Ont
 s    15+                        Fin
 e        -        USA         NZeSwe        Jap
          -              BFr  BFl
          -              Isr       EnW        HK
          -
      +-\/\/—+————+————+————+————+————+————
Percent 0.0   32.0   40.0   48.0   56.0   64.0   72.0
```

(a) All SIMS Countries

```
     20.0+
          -              Ont
          -        Sco
 %        -
          -
 i   15.0+                        Fin
 n        -
          -
 c        -     USA         Swe         Jap
 o        -              NZe
 u   10.0+              BFr  BFl
 r        -
 s        -
 e        -
          -        Isr       EnW        HK
      5.0+
          -
          -
          -
          -
     0.0+-/\/\——+————+————+————+————+————+—
Percent 0.0   42.0   49.0   56.0   63.0   70.0   77.0
```

BC, British Columbia; BFl, Belgium Flemish; BFR, Belgium French; EnW, England and Wales;
Fin, Finland; HK, Hong Kong; Hun, Hungary; Isr, Israel; Jap, Japan; NZe, New Zealand; Ont,
Ontario; Sco, Scotland; Swe, Sweden; USA, United States.

(b) SIMS Countries Excluding Hungary and BC

Figure 3: SIMS Results, End of High School, Achievement versus Enrolment

Consideration of Alternative Models for Assessment

Graham Orpwood

September 1994

Orpwood, Graham.

Consideration of Alternative Models for Assessment, September 1994.
(*Étude d'autres modèles d'évaluation)*, septembre 1994.

The purpose of this paper is "to examine alternative models for system assessment, with a focus on a possible `arm's length assessment council' for Ontario" (p.1). Orpwood's discussion concerns system assessment relative to the goals and objectives it has set for itself, not the assessment of individuals.

The author outlines the benefits of provincial assessment now that the Common Curriculum is in place in order to give the public as much information as possible about the operation of its schools. He presents three models of assessment used in Canada and elsewhere: ministry assessment, contracted assessments (i.e., the ministry contracts out assessments), and an agency dedicated to assessment. The conclusion favoured by Orpwood is that of the establishment of an Ontario Educational Assessment Council with a mandate to conduct educational assessments in the province. Finally, he offers a proposal for such a council.

* * * * *

Le présent document vise à «examiner les autres modèles d'évaluation du système, en se concentrant sur un éventuel 'conseil d'évaluation indépendant' pour l'Ontario» (p.10). La discussion de Monsieur Orpwood porte sur l'évaluation du système relativement aux buts et objectifs qu'elle s'est fixée, et non pas sur l'évaluation des particuliers.

L'auteur énonce les avantages de l'évaluation provinciale, compte tenu de la mise en place du Programme d'études commun. Le public reçoit donc autant de renseignements que possible sur le fonctionnement des écoles. Il présente trois modèles d'évaluation utilisés au Canada et ailleurs: les évaluations effectuées par le Ministère, les évaluations sous contrat (c'est-à-dire les évaluations attribuées par contrat par le Ministère) et l'établissement d'un organisme chargé des évaluations. L'auteur est en faveur de la création d'un conseil ontarien d'évaluation de l'éducation dont le mandat consisterait à effectuer des évaluations éducatives dans la province. Enfin, il avance une proposition relative à ce conseil.

Introduction

This short paper has been contracted by the Royal Commission on Learning with the mandate to:

> *To examine alternative models for system assessment, with a focus on a possible "arm's length assessment council" for Ontario.*

In conducting the examination, I have had the opportunity to interview individuals from educational assessment agencies in three other jurisdictions — The United States, Australia, and England — and some of what follows is based on information from them. Otherwise, I have outlined my own views concerning the rationale and benefits of such an agency for Ontario.

First, however, it is important to clarify what is meant by "assessment" in this context. Educational assessment or evaluation takes place in many ways in many contexts and for many different purposes, most of which would not necessarily be affected by the proposal under discussion here. Assessment in this context is taken to refer to "system" assessment rather than the assessment of individual students conducted by teachers for instructional or individual reporting purposes.

Increasingly in recent years, the public has demanded greater accountability on the part of schools and school systems and regular provincial (and school board) assessments of student achievement are an important response to these demands. A variety of assessments have been conducted in Ontario over the past several years, including those of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), the International Assessment of Educational Progress (IAEP) and the School Achievement Indicators Project (of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada). While these projects are of value in illuminating the achievement of Ontario students relative to those of other jurisdictions, they are no substitute for assessments of the Ontario system relative to the goals and objectives it has set for itself, and such "provincial assessment" is the topic of the rest of this paper[1].

Benefits of Provincial Assessment

In recent years, the Ministry of Education has established *The Common Curriculum* as the basis for Ontario education in Grades 1 through 9 and, along with the curriculum policy, has encouraged the development of "standards" by which achievement of the curriculum goals can be assessed. Now, while the most important purpose of such standards is to assist teachers assess the progress of individual students, they also provide an excellent opportunity for the assessment of the system as a whole and (if desired) of the school boards that are components of the overall educational system.

If such assessment were conducted in an appropriate way, there would be significant benefits to the Ontario public.

- The need to be more accountable for the spending of large amounts of taxpayers' money would be met to a greater degree than is the case at present.

- Public discussion concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the system would be informed by empirical evidence rather than merely by personal opinions and anecdotes.

- Revisions of *The Common Curriculum* and provincial standards could similarly informed by evidence of students achievement.

- Significant variations or trends in achievement at the school board level could suggest further inquiry or research.

- Policy decisions at the local level could be made on the basis of a greater understanding of how well the students were achieving.

- Issues of special priority (such as multiculturalism) could be examined in the light of clear data on achievement.

More specific benefits would depend on the choice of what assessments would be carried out and the methods of data collection, analysis and reporting.

The key principle at stake here is that, in a democratic society, the public good is served best by generating as much information as possible about the operation of social institutions and by disseminating that information as widely as possible. In the case of the Canadian economy, such a principle is followed. There is ample information collected, analyzed, and disseminated to focus an intelligent discussion of policy alternatives. In Ontario education, however, this has not traditionally been the case. Little information has been collected (and even less based on student achievement), what has been collected has been analyzed secretly by educational officials, and quite inadequate amounts of information have been published to make a serious public debate on education possible. Fundamental change in this regard is what this paper is about and the way to ensure that such change takes place is the topic of the next section.

Models for Assessment

Competence and credibility are the two most important criteria by which to judge any model for conducting educational assessments. Obviously they must be done competently: the individuals who design and conduct provincial assessments must have appropriate qualifications and experience and the budgets for assessment must be adequate to ensure that a quality job is done. Equally important, the assessments must be credible: the integrity of the assessments must be transparent and the publication of results should not be open to political manipulation or control. For example, the integrity and political neutrality of Statistics Canada makes it the respected and credible agency that it is and ensures the credibility of its publications.

In what follows, I describe three generic models for conducting educational assessments. They differ primarily in terms of the locus of responsibility for the *implementation* of educational assessments within a jurisdiction. It should be noted that all these alternatives refer to the conduct of assessments, not to provincial policymaking in the area, a function that must remain with the Ministry of Education.

A. **Ministry Assessment**
   Model A is the one presently used in Ontario. In this model, the Ministry of Education itself conducts all provincial assessments, using its own staff supplemented with staff seconded from school systems and supported by committees of educators. The Ministry also reports and analyzes the results and releases reports.

B. **Contracted Assessments**
   Model B is used in British Columbia and in some other jurisdictions. Here, individual assessment projects are contracted out by the Ministry of Education to university-based groups of researchers and results are published (either by the project team or by the Ministry) as "authored reports" with no intervention from the Ministry.

C. **Independent Assessment Agency**
   Model C is used in the United States, Australia, and (to some extent) in England. In this model, The Government sets up an independent assessment agency with the mandate to conduct and publish educational assessments. In this case, while the Ministry determines the overall scope of each assessment project, its role is primarily as an arms-length funding agency.

Models A and B have in common the Ministry's control over each assessment project but they differ in that the academic "signature" on the report (in Model B) represents the academic reputation that is at stake and thus the political independence and credibility of the report, a feature quite distinct from Model A. Models B and C are similar in this respect but differ in the institutional structure involved, B being a university (where educational assessment may be the special interest of a few professors on a part time basis) while C implies an institution dedicated to educational assessment.

Each model has its advantages and disadvantages and, in a political vacuum, arguments could be made for any one of the three. However, in the present political context, where public demands for greater accountability and for more specific measurement of school achievement are increasing, Models B and C appear more attractive than Model A. Nevertheless, the following would appear to be some of the considerations with respect to each of the three models.

Model A.   Ministry Assessment

The overarching advantages of this model from the Government's point of views the maintenance of control: control over the scope of the assessment; control over the methodology of the assessment; control over the procedures for analyzing results; and control over their publication. However it is this same tight bureaucratic and political control that reduces the credibility of the assessment and has led to the charge of "conflict of interest" on the part of the Ministry of Education[2]. Education is one of the only government program areas, where program assessment is not contracted out to independent (usually private sector) consultants.

Another disadvantage of Ministry assessment is the limited availability of adequate technical expertise in the area. In the past, much of the work of provincial assessments has been carried out by teachers on secondment to the Ministry and by education officers having little formal background in assessment.[3]   Educational "insiders" tend to dominate all program assessments conducted by the Ministry. The occasional inclusion of an independent person (a parent, an employer, a university professor) provides no guarantee that the broader array of educational stakeholders play a meaningful role in the assessment process.

It has also been suggested that Model A guarantees close links between the assessment and the official provincial curriculum. However, it not clear that in practice this has been the case. There are several assessments in the past that have failed to take into account the full scope of the Ministry guideline for the program area under review. Nor is it clear that the other models could not guarantee as close a link. Indeed, the innovations in assessment practice in recent years have emanated from academic groups having this goal in mind.

Finally, it can be argued that Model A is the least costly. It is difficult without a detailed study to evaluate this argument since, even if Models B or C were to be implemented, there would be a continuing need for Ministry *policy* in the area of assessment and thus for some personnel. However, the use of untrained personnel on secondment from schools (the current practice) is a very expensive form of research assistance which must contribute to the cost of Model A. The financial costs of each model have to be weighed, of course, against the net benefits of each model to society.

Model B   Contracted Assessments

Model B is attractive in that many of the shortcomings of Model A can appear to be overcome at little or no extra costs. Assessments can be contracted on the basis of competitive bids to outside agencies, either university based groups or private sector companies. While such contracts would still be let and managed by the Ministry of Education, experience in the consulting business suggests that the elements of control perceived negatively in Model A are not relevant to Model B. Above all, consultants, whether academic or private, depend for their livelihood on maintaining a high reputation for quality work and they are politically independent from the object of the assessment. These tend to ensure a higher degree of credibility in the reports on the part of the public.

Model B also has its disadvantages. While the public perception of independence may exist, the actual degree of control exercised by the Ministry may be significant. Through mechanisms such as the call for proposals, the budget constraints, and the degree of participation and approval requirements on the part of Ministry contract managers, it is possible that the contractors' actual freedom to conduct a quality assessment is excessively constrained. This is a liability of Model B because it is difficult to prevent the exercise of these controlling mechanisms in practice.

Another disadvantage of Model B stems from the fact that a province-wide assessment of say reading or mathematics at a given grade level is a large scale project for which a wide body of expert technical expertise is required. There may be few universities or companies in the province that can put together "temporary" assessment teams of the competence required for the work. While undoubtedly, the creation of a "contracting out" policy for assessments would stimulate more individuals to focus their research in this field, universities could scarcely afford to hire additional tenure-track professors in this specialist area in the expectation of winning government contracts. Thus, the maintenance of a "critical mass" adequate to be able to bid on such contact competitions would seem to be problematic. While private sector firms can usually acquire such expertise on a temporary project basis, each such newly assembled team must learn the job "from scratch" as it were.

These disadvantages of Model B have led many countries, some no bigger than Ontario, to institute Model C, an agency dedicated to the work of educational assessment. Here, with all the advantages of Model B (of academic expertise and political independence), the problems of critical mass are resolved also. An agency whose mandated focus is on assessment can recruit the best expertise available and maintain a core of specialists which can be supplemented as required with others (from school systems, from universities or from elsewhere) on a project by project basis. There is the potential for involving a range of educational stakeholders on the Board of Directors and in other aspects of the agency's operations. While the Ministry of Education would still have to provide project funding for specific assessments, the agency could be created to be at arm's length from the Ministry itself, reporting directly to the Legislature through the Minister.

Model C   Independent Assessment Agency
While the up-front costs of Model C would clearly be higher, experience in Australia, the United states, and England (see below) suggests that such independent agencies are able to generate a proportion of their total operating budget through the sale of products and services to school systems. In Canada, such an agency would have the potential to provide services not only to Ontario schools but also to other provinces (especially the smaller provinces where such expertise is lacking) and to the Council of Ministers of Education (for the School Achievement Indicators Program). It could also be in a position to manage Canadian contributions to such international projects such as the IEA sponsored studies.

One potential disadvantage of Model C is that in creating a new institution, one might be creating a new bureaucracy. This could be avoided by ensuring that the agency operated as much as possible on the basis of cost recovery; its charter would need to be drawn up not only to allow but to encourage it to operate entrepreneurially. Another concern is that, by making the agency too strong, expert and efficient, the government might be subverting its own curriculum policymaking. For example, before the new National Curriculum in England, curriculum policy in that country was set by default by the Examination Boards. Model C needs to have its mandate strictly defined and also strictly monitored. It also requires that Ministry curriculum policy making needs to be of equally high quality.

These advantages and disadvantages are summarised in the table below.

Model	Advantages	Diasdvantages
A. Ministry Assessment	• Costs hidden • Close consistency with official curriculum • Maintains control over results	• Lack of political credibility • Inadequate academic expertise • Dominated by "insiders"
B. Contracted Assessment	• Competitive pricing • Improved competence leading to improved credibility • Shared responsibility	• Each new assessment team has to learn from scratch • Many universities lack a critical mass of assessment expertise
C. Independent Assessment Agency	• Independence and expertise maximises credibility • Critical mass of experts • Potential for involving range of stakeholders • Potential for revenue through other projects • Potentail for assisting in national and international assessements	• Higher startup costs • Risk of bureaucracy • Risk of assessment steering • curriculum

To illustrate the use of Model C more clearly, brief outlines of three agencies in other jurisdictions follow.

The United States of America: Educational Testing Service (ETS)
The Educational Testing Service (ETS) was set up many years ago in Princeton NJ as a not-for-profit independent corporation. It is owned and operated by its own Board of Directors and all of its revenue comes from contracts, grants, and other sales of goods and services. Its biggest client is the College Board, for whom it designs and operates a battery of standardized tests such as the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test). The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is conducted by ETS under a five-year contract from the (federal) Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES).   This contract is not guaranteed (in the past the Education Commission of the States in Denver had the NAEP contract) and each five years, ETS must compete again to operate the NAEP.

The Center for the Assessment of Educational Progress, the division of ETS that actually operates NAEP, is impressive for its very high competence in test development, psychometrics, and in all aspects of testing. This competence in turn leads to the high degree of credibility with which NAEP results are regarded. States are not required to participate in NAEP but most do so voluntarily (rather like SAIP in Canada).

In addition to its College Board tests and NAEP, ETS constructs and sells tests for professional associations and organisations throughout the country that require tests. It also conducts research on aspects of testing. Its overall annual budget is in the order of $50 million (US).

Australia: Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER)
Australia is a country whose educational structure is very similar to Canada with the states having exclusive responsibility for education. Nevertheless the Commonwealth (federal) government in cooperation with the States has established and supports a national educational research and testing

centre, the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) located just outside Melbourne in the State of Victoria. While it receives a core annual grant of $1.7m (AUS) (50% from the Commonwealth and 50% from the States) this represents only about 20% of its overall annual revenue, the remainder of which comes from grants and contracts and sales of products. ACER is like ETS an independent institution owned and operated by its own Board of Directors.

There is, as yet, no national assessment program in Australia but increasingly individual states are contracting ACER to conduct assessments in their jurisdiction. While ACER has no automatic right of such contracts, its expertise is recognized often by awarding a first contract to ACER and by subsequently having open contracts for assessment projects. As was the case at ETS, I was very impressed by the high levels of competence at ACER. The Council has won international awards for its assessments and is highly thought of both nationally and internationally.

It would appear that ACER provides a good model for Canada to consider if a national assessment agency were to be established. Even if there is no such national consensus, Ontario might consider setting up such a Council for its own purposes and then inviting other provinces to cooperate on an individual basis.

England: National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER)

The NFER has been established for many years in England with a similar mandate to that of ACER in Australia. Its core grant comes, not directly from the central government but collectively from the Local Education Authorities (school boards). The line of accountability for NFER therefore is more directed towards the local level than to the national level.

NFER competes with universities and examination boards for contracts to conduct national assessment activities and as in Australia, its capacity to win grants and contracts provides the greater part of its overall revenue.

In other respects, it is similar to ETS and ACER in that it has brought together over the years a critical mass of expert assessment personnel and thus ensured that England has the capacity to conduct assessment projects on a large scale.

It is interesting to note that both ACER and NFER also provide their respective countries with the National Centres for TIMSS.

Summary

On the basis of the analysis outlined in this paper, I would suggest that the Royal Commission consider recommending the establishment of a new agency with a mandate to conduct educational assessments for the province. Such an agency, which for the purposes of this paper I call the Ontario Educational Assessment Council (OEAC), could be a prototype for a national assessment agency. However, the delays in obtaining a national consensus might prove to be so significant that it might be better to establish an Ontario Council and then work towards its becoming the seed for a national one.

In the remaining section of this paper, I outline some of the features that such a Council might incorporate and the means by which a Commission recommendation in this direction could be implemented.

Proposal for an Ontario Educational Assessment Council

Some of the features that such an agency might have could be as follows:

- A charter set out in special legislation, incorporating its mandate and its political independence.

- A Governing Council, appointed by the government to reflect the range of stakeholders in Ontario education (e.g. parents, business, universities and colleges, etc.) Such a Council would set overall policy for the agency, appoint an Executive Director, and be accountable to the Legislature for the spending of public funds.

- A core operating budget from the Ministry of Education and Training but should seek to generate additional revenue through grants and contracts in a manner similar to ETS, ACER, and NFER.

- OEAC should seek to recruit staff with the highest academic qualifications in the areas of psychometrics and educational assessment and to second staff for specialist projects as required.

- OEAC should have an explicit mandate to publish its findings directly to the public. It should also provide a regular report to the Legislature on the state of Ontario education.

- OEAC should be encouraged to develop partnerships with universities, colleges and school boards for the purposes of sharing resources, enriching each other's practices, and conducting joint projects.

- OEAC should be free of unnecessary bureaucratic restrictions in order to seek out additional forms of revenue in ways compatible with its central mandate.

Implementation
In order to implement a recommendation for the creation of an independent assessment agency, the following considerations should be noted.

Planning Study
A full scale planning study to include full consultation with interested parties should be conducted by an independent consultant to determine the details of the mandate, structure, a business plan and initial budget for the agency. Based on the report of this study, the Ministry should frame founding legislation. I would also recommend that such a planning study review the three agencies referred to earlier in this paper. The Directors of all three would be pleased to advise the Ontario government on setting up a new agency and ACER in particular seems to be the most useful model for emulation.

Legislation
Creation of such a new agency would best be undertaken by means of specific legislation that would set out: its mandate and independence (the details would be worked out as part of a planning study); its structure (if a Council, then the size and composition and the method of appointment of members); its method of reporting (to the Legislature through the Minister of Education); its sources of revenue (to include an annual core grant from the Ministry but not to exclude any other sources of revenue); its right and obligation to publish its findings (in the case of publicly funded assessments).

Incentives
There is little doubt that the creation of such an assessment council would represent and be perceived as a "victory" for those outside the education community who have been pressing for greater accountability. It is important however that creating an assessment council should be perceived as providing the education community with a new resource for assisting them, not as a threat to their professional activity. OEAC could work in partnership with teachers' federations or school boards, for example, to develop new and appropriate techniques for assessment.

Professional Capacity

There are more trained educational professionals in Ontario than there are employment opportunities. If a new and permanent institution were created in Ontario in such a growth area, I am confident that well qualified personnel would appear in response to well advertised vacancies. In particular, it should be possible to attract a "world class" researcher to take the position of Executive Director of the agency. Over time, the very existence of such an agency and the work involved would serve to provide incentives for educators to train in this area.

Costs

The planning study should establish a business plan which would propose the level of annual core grant that the assessment agency would require. However, based on ACER experience, a reasonable basis for planning might be $2 million per year. This would be independent of actual projects contracted to the agency.

Conclusion

This paper has set out the arguments in favour of an independent agency for educational assessment in Ontario. It has suggested some of the features such an agency might incorporate and provided examples from other countries having successful experience with such agencies. Finally, it has suggested some of the considerations the Commission will need to take into account should it decide to make this recommendation.

[1]   The Ministry of Education has conducted provincial reviews and assessments in the past, of course. A later section of this paper will review the advantages and disadvantages of continuing the existing system of provincial assessment compared with establishing a new model.

[2]   Jennifer Lewington and Graham Orpwood, *Overdue Assignment: Taking Responsibility for Canada's Schools* (Toronto: Wiley, 1993).

[3]   This should not be taken to refer to any individuals presently employed at the Ministry of Education, some of whom have excellent qualifications in the area.

Teacher Education in Ontario

Patricia A. Allison

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Allison, Patricia A.

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(L'éducation des enseignantes et des enseignants en Ontario), **janvier 1994.**

Allison takes a critical look at teacher education in Ontario. She concludes that this province is locked into an outmoded model of teacher education, and that those responsible for the preparation of Ontario's teachers should look to other provinces for models to improve pre-service programs. She blames Ontario's outmoded practice on overly centralized government control which has restricted the natural development of a tradition of academic study of education, of a strong research base for education, and of the profession as a self-sustaining body. Moreover, the structure and content of programs, especially in-service programs, is legislated and inflexible, tied to an outdated certification model. Faculties of education can operate pre-service programs and can contribute to the in-service development of teachers, but they cannot be reasonably be expected to produce teachers who are as fully competent as experienced teachers. The continuing nurturing and development of new teachers should be the combined responsibility of the profession and the employers.

The essential question is who *should* control teacher education and certification? The Ministry has devolved into being primarily concerned with advancing the political agenda of the incumbent government. The teacher federations have positioned themselves far more as unions than as professional bodies and clearly are in conflict of interest since they bargain teacher salaries. School boards have specific local interests and political definitions at heart. And the universities have their own agenda as well. Other provinces have tackled the same question and found solutions, which, while not altogether popular, have forced the various interests to work together for the greater good of the public, the profession and the provinces' children.

* * * * *

L'auteure passe en revue d'un point de vue critique les programmes d'éducation des enseignantes et enseignants en Ontario. Elle conclut que la province est inféodée à un modèle dépassé d'éducation des enseignantes et enseignants, et propose que les responsables de la préparation des enseignantes et enseignants de l'Ontario adoptent de meilleurs modèles de formation préalable, déjà mis en œuvre dans d'autres provinces. L'auteure attribue la persistance de pratiques surannées en Ontario à un système de régie gouvernementale centralisé à l'excès, qui a entravé le développement naturel d'une tradition d'étude théorique de l'éducation et d'une solide base de recherche en éducation, ainsi que l'évolution de la profession vers un statut autonome. En outre, la structure et le contenu des programmes, surtout des programmes de perfectionnement, sont fixés par la loi et manquent par conséquent de souplesse. Par ailleurs, les programmes de perfectionnement sont liés à un système de certification dépassé. Les facultés d'éducation peuvent certes gérer des programmes de formation préalable et contribuer au perfectionnement des enseignantes et enseignants en cours de carrière, mais on ne peut s'attendre à ce que leurs diplômées et diplômés soient pleinement qualifiés pour enseigner. La profession et les employeurs doivent conjointement assumer la responsabilité de cultiver et de former les nouvelles enseignantes et les nouveaux enseignants.

La question essentielle est de savoir à qui *devraient* être confiés la formation et l'agrément des enseignantes et des enseignants. Le rôle du Ministère a tellement évolué qu'il ne s'intéresse plus guère qu'à réaliser les projets politiques du gouvernement du jour. Les fédérations d'enseignantes et d'enseignants ont adopté un rôle beaucoup plus proche de celui de syndicats que de celui d'organismes professionnels. En outre, elles se placent dans un net conflit d'intérêt puisqu'elles négocient le traitement des enseignantes et enseignants. Les conseils et commissions scolaires, pour leur part, servent des intérêts locaux et des desseins politiques bien précis. Les universités, enfin, ont leurs priorités propres. D'autres provinces ont abordé ce dossier et ont retenu des solutions qui, malgré qu'elles aient été mal accueillies par certains, ont obligé les intéressés à collaborer pour le bien du public, de la profession et des élèves.

A BRIEF HISTORY

Ontario first adopted official qualification standards for teachers in 1850 when the *Programme for the Examination and Classification of Teachers of Common Schools* was authorized under the *Act of 1850.* The prescribed standards were almost entirely scholastic and quite minimal. Candidates for the Third Class Certificate were required to demonstrate an ability to read, spell, write and know a little geography and the basic rules of grammar. For the elevated status of a First Class Certificate, candidates also had to demonstrate a knowledge of algebra, history and Euclid. The first specialized teacher training institution in Ontario was actually the short-lived York [Toronto] Central School, established in 1820 to promote the Bell-Lancastrian system of mass monitorial teaching . This aberration apart, the province entered the mainstream of teacher training with the opening of the Toronto Normal School in 1847.

Other provinces moved away from the Normal School model as early as the 40's, but evolutionary developments in Ontario occurred at a much slower pace than elsewhere, as a result of this province's predilection for strong central regulation. As Fleming (1971) says,

> The whole procedure was very rigidly controlled by the department, particularly after 1916 when manuals were introduced prescribing in detail how the [Normal School] subjects were to be taught. These stayed in service until 1937. It was not until after 1951 that the responsibility for setting and marking final examinations was delegated to the staffs of the normal schools. (p.22)

Ontario changed the name of its Normal Schools to Teachers' Colleges in 1953, but although the level of close and detailed control may have relaxed somewhat, the province retained direct and close control of elementary teacher training.

Secondary school teachers were normally required to complete a single year of training at the Ontario College of Education after gaining an undergraduate degree. The Ontario College was attached to the University of Toronto, but the terms of the 1920 agreement between the University and the government gave the Minister of Education power to approve all certification programs as well as the appointment of instructors, which ensured that the College was almost as much a creature of the Ministry of Education[1] as were the Normal Schools.

In the 60's Ontario began to restructure teacher education. In 1962 the Patten Report on secondary teacher training soundly endorsed the established consecutive program facilitated the establishment of two new Colleges of Education affiliated with The University of Western Ontario in 1963 and Queen's University in 1965. The report advocated closer association between the Colleges and their host universities, and a lessening of the centralized control exercised by the Ministry of Education. In 1966 the MacLeod report on elementary teacher education recommended that all initial teacher education programs should be provided by universities, that elementary and secondary programs should be offered in the same facility, and that both consecutive and four-year concurrent programs of initial teacher education should be made available, each of which would lead to a B.Ed. degree, which would become the common basic certification standard for all Ontario teachers. The Hall-Dennis Report in 1968 warmly endorsed these proposals and urged that "progressive" methods be used in the new Faculties of Education. In March 1966 the Education Minister, William Davis, declared that the transfer of teacher education to the universities would begin immediately. Unfortunately, negotiations between the government and the universities developed into a tortuous, drawn-out and at times acrimonious process, and until 1979, when the last Ministry facility closed,

there were both university programs and Ministry Teachers' Colleges operating in the province. Part way through the transfer process, in the early 70's, the government introduced fees for teacher education programs and the B.Ed. became the standard for certification. Teacher education in the universities in Ontario is, therefore, a relatively recent phenomenon and, given some of the conditions of the transfer, it can be argued that it is still not in effect a reality.

Negotiations with the universities were not conducted collectively; instead the Ministry bargained with each individual university, some of which were very new, thus establishing an inter-Faculty isolation which has only recently been recognized as detrimental. The aim of the Ministry of Education in the negotiations seemed to be to ensure that the new Faculties of Education would not be altogether different from the Ministry Colleges they replaced, and some universities resisted this more tenaciously than others. For the most part, the compromises reached in the individual agreements gave the Ministry much of what it had originally wanted, with the universities gaining some concessions. In some instances, more than a decade of sometimes bitter dispute left resentments on both sides, and established a poor working relationship between the parties which has by and large persisted.

One major point of dispute was the Ministry's requirement that teacher education programs be housed in separate Colleges or Faculties of Education, rather than in departments within existing Faculties, which several universities would have preferred. The Ministry prevailed, and two consequences can be attributed to this decision. Many Faculties of Education in the province have traditionally been to some extent divorced from their universities both physically and academically. This was most pronounced in the case of existing Ministry Colleges which were transferred to their host universities complete with separate buildings. Secondly, and again especially in the case of transferred buildings, the change from Ministry control to university control was virtually invisible to the general public: to all outward appearances more or less the same program continued, delivered by the same people, on more or less the same basis, frequently in the same separate building.

The second major point of dispute which deserves note was the question of Teachers' College staff members receiving university appointments in the new Faculties. Most of the instructional staff at the Colleges had been selected on the basis of classroom teaching experience rather than academic criteria and their working conditions had offered little encouragement or reward for gaining advanced degrees or engaging in the type of academic activities prized by university promotion and tenure committees. Consequently few possessed the qualifications normally required for initial university appointments[2]. Of course, there was no pool of appropriately qualified academics inside the province: unlike many other provinces, Ontario had no tradition of academic study in education and the paint was hardly dry on the walls of the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education, which had been created to remedy this situation. The Ministry of Education considered it appropriate not only that virtually all of the College Masters would be permanently transferred to the new Faculties, but that established university appointment procedures and criteria would be suspended or modified to accomplish this. For the most part this, in fact, happened, although in subsequent years many Faculties hired education scholars from outside of the province. Former College Masters were given university appointments and granted tenure often on quite different grounds from those in effect elsewhere in the university, adding to the isolation of the Faculties of Education within the universities. Furthermore, these former Masters assumed leadership roles in the operation of the Faculties and supervised new hiring, thus in many cases perpetuating a Teacher's College paradigm, in, but not of, the university.

At the same time as negotiating the transfer of pre-service programs to universities, the Ministry began in 1971 to contract out in-service teacher education to them as well[3]. These courses were not part of the pre-service negotiations; the Faculties acted only as agents under contract with the Ministry, which designed and administered the courses, including directly contracting and paying the staff. The Ministry finally completed the transfer of Additional Qualification courses to Faculties in the same year that it closed its last pre-service institution: 1979. From this time on, the Faculties

administered the courses directly, receiving funding in the same manner as pre-service programs; the Ministry continued to prescribe the content of courses and to grant certification on completion.

Control of pre-service teacher education bounced between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities for a number of years. In the late seventies, in the midst of rumours about merging the two ministries, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities assumed responsibility for teacher education. A decade later, in 1988, the responsibility was transferred back to the Ministry of Education, although the Ministry of Colleges and Universities continued to fund the programs. Inevitably, these shifts had their effect on Faculties, since each Ministry brought its own focus to teacher preparation. In 1993 both Ministries disappeared with the emergence of the Ministry of Education and Training, bringing yet another different emphasis.

THE STATUS QUO

There are ten Faculties of Education[4] in Ontario. Each Faculty operates under a contract between the university and the Minister of Education. Under the terms of the contract the Faculty agrees to continue offering certain programs and to abide by all of the relevant legislation and the Ministry agrees to grant certification to graduates. Some are relatively small Faculties in large universities; others are relatively large Faculties in small universities; each has evolved a unique character over the years but there are still common problems and some common responses. A tendency to introspection is a typical characteristic of a new system, and communication among Faculties and between the Faculties and the outside world has not been particularly effective during this period of evolution. Recently the Ontario Association of Deans of Education attempted to ameliorate this situation by commissioning a report documenting how the Faculties have evolved. No attempt is made here to cover everything in that report, let alone to provide a truly complete picture of the variety and complexity of teacher education programs in Ontario, which would require considerable space. A few important highlights, however, are noted.

The legislation governing teacher education consists primarily of the definition given in Section One of Regulation 297, enacted under the *Education Act*. Essentially, the definition specifies that a pre-service program must prepare teachers for one of the four types of basic teacher certification: Primary/Junior, Junior/Intermediate, Intermediate/Senior or Technological Studies. Junior/Intermediate teachers must be qualified in one of the specified teachable subjects and Intermediate/Senior and Technological Studies teachers must be qualified in two. Technological Studies students are not required to hold university degrees, requiring instead accredited trade or industrial experience and appropriate trade qualifications, and do not receive a B.Ed.[5] The definition also specifies certain general components of the program such as study of Ministry guidelines, legislation affecting education, theories of learning and pedagogical techniques.

Individuals who wish to teach in Ontario may also take their initial training over the border. The Ministry recognizes a number of U.S. programs as equivalent to an Ontario program and grants the OTC to graduates, provided that their practical experience occurred in Ontario. Those who opt to cross the border usually do so because it is much easier to gain admittance to the U.S. programs than to Ontario Faculties of Education, and because they can afford the hefty fees. Some Faculties even find it difficult to compete with the more generous off-shore programs, who charge the costs back to their students, for practicum placements. How much of the material required by Regulation 297 is included in these American programs and what type of monitoring the Ministry exercises is not clear, and Ministry officials apparently see no moral dilemma in this situation at all.

All of the Ontario Faculties offer consecutive (i.e., post-baccalaureate) teacher preparation programs. Several also offer concurrent programs, in which the Bachelor of Education degree and the undergraduate degree are completed more or less simultaneously. Integrated programs, which

provide some education courses in the regular undergraduate program followed by a modified consecutive program, have been introduced in recent years to stimulate enrolments in areas of high demand, such as second language teaching and mathematics and science.

Some Faculties offer a full range of program and subject options; others offer only a limited set of programs and/or subjects. Typically the Faculties set internal quotas for different programs and subjects based on some assessment of need in the field and internal factors affecting what they can offer. These decisions are made entirely in house and only recently have the Faculties begun to discuss how their various programs and options fit together. As the financial situation worsens, it will be more and more difficult for individual Faculties to maintain full service and it will be necessary to make more communal decisions about what options are to be offered where. It is to be hoped that these communal decisions will be driven by a careful consideration of anticipated needs in the field and changing curricular requirements rather than by spurious inter- and intra-Faculty territorial considerations and Faculty-Ministry quarrels. Willingness to discuss, cooperate and compromise has not always been evident in the dealings between the Ministry and the Faculties, among the Faculties or even within the Faculties. There is a danger, at all three of these levels, of becoming enmired in petty squabbles about jurisdiction and delaying necessary reforms inordinately.

The programs offered in the Faculties are overtly quite different from those previously offered in the Colleges but substantively very similar. Changes made recently and those yet to come could for the most part be characterized as seeking to overcome the isolation in which Faculties have existed since their creation: various initiatives seek to link teacher education more with the rest of the university, with community colleges and with school boards. Links with the university are being created through new types of concurrent, integrated and co-operative programs. Links with Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology are being created to offer combined programs in specialized areas such as technological studies and early childhood education, where the colleges already have well-developed programs. Links with school boards are being created through field-oriented or school-based programs and through extended practicum and school liaison projects. In all of these initiatives there is a danger of losing the essential nature of the university-based professional preparation program. This is particularly so in the case of site-based programs, where student teachers are located in a school for the duration of the program. There are some instances in which the student teachers hardly ever come into contact with anyone from the Faculty of Education, since the instructors who work with them are for the most part seconded teachers rather than regular faculty members. In such instances it is questionable whether the preparation program can be called a university program at all.

Virtually all of the changes made to date have had to do with delivery modes and have been made without substantially altering the fundamental structure of the programs. No Faculty has yet challenged the prescribed format of teacher education in this province, although those which are proposing two-year programs may well find that they will need to do so. The Faculties have a relatively free hand in how they organize the content of teacher education programs. This is a two-edged sword: each Faculty is free to determine how the required components will be organized and what else will go into the program but there is no guaranteed consistency from one program to another. For example, some Faculties present the Whole Language approach as one of several methods and discuss the relative merits of each, while other Faculties present the Whole Language method as the only approach without critical appraisal. Some Faculties devote considerable time to equity issues and how these affect and are affected by classroom practice; others do not. Some Faculties consider it important that students are taught a full history of the Ontario system; others do not.

Notwithstanding this freedom in interpretation of content and delivery, the Faculties are significantly constrained by the requirements of certification. Short of falsifying records or making deliberately misleading recommendations for certification, it is not possible for a Faculty to offer, for example, a secondary program which prepares candidates to teach a group of related subjects instead of two

specific subjects, despite the fact that this would be more consistent with the reality of secondary schools, in which most teachers are asked to teach more subjects than the two in which they are qualified. It is not possible for a Faculty to offer a transition years program concentrating equally on all of the required areas in the Common Curriculum, nor yet to offer a pre-service program leading to additional certification in a specialization such as French immersion teaching or special education. This is not to say that various Faculties have not attempted to introduce some of these elements into the existing requirements, but any such changes have to be made to fit into the prescribed format in some way.

One aspect of teacher education which has changed has been that of admission to the programs. In the early years of their operation, the Faculties admitted students entirely on academic criteria, following the established pattern of both the universities and the Teachers' Colleges. Candidates must still meet a basic level of academic achievement (generally an undergraduate average of 70%); they must also be able to present sufficient university-level preparation in teaching options at all levels above Primary/Junior; in some cases, Primary/Junior applicants must present at least one course in a number of subjects relevant to elementary teaching. These academic criteria are for the most part now used as initial screens. Final admission decisions usually rest on a variety of factors including three new criteria: (a) a measure of life experience relevant to a career in teaching; (b) a rating of that experience and academic qualifications by practising teachers and administrators; and (c) special entry routes for targeted groups.

The third of these merits more comment. The Faculties have sought to increase the number of candidates from under-represented groups[6] in two ways: (1) special admission routes, often linked to a number of reserved places, making it easier for candidates from target groups to gain admission; and (2) programs which seek to recruit and encourage applicants from targeted groups and to provide special support systems for them in the program. Some of these initiatives are well established and running smoothly; others are experiencing difficulties. Special admission routes which are not linked to appropriate support systems seem to have been the least successful and this would seem to indicate that it is generally better to help individuals from targeted groups to reach the existing admission standards than to lower the standards, especially if candidates admitted on a differential basis are not subsequently provided with special support after admission.

The current Ontario teacher certification structure is a two-tiered system which was introduced in 1978. The Ontario Teacher Certificate, which replaced a myriad of different specific certificates, is a common certificate upon which are recorded basic, additional basic, additional and specialist qualifications. Only basic qualifications are acquired pre-service; all other training is acquired subsequently. In-service education for teachers is a complex mosaic, consisting of many different types of activity offered by federations, by specialist groups, by regional groups, by individual school staffs and by school systems, but only Additional Qualifications courses, approved by the Ministry, funded by the government and offered by Faculties of Education, count for certification and salary purposes. The Faculties have offered large numbers of AQ courses since they took them over but have typically not seen them as an important part of their operations. Indeed, most Faculties have chosen to act as brokers or to create special arm's-length units to take care of the provision of AQ courses with as little direct involvement as possible.

Graduate programs are not recognized for teacher in-service certification, despite the fact that the value of graduate degrees as part of continuing teacher education has long been recognized elsewhere. For the most part the Faculties have preferred to devote their energies to developing their graduate programs rather than the Additional Qualification programs. The Ontario Faculties offer a variety of Masters level programs, some tightly focused on particular areas of teaching specialization but with very few exceptions, doctoral degrees in Education inside the province have been available only from O.I.S.E., not because the Faculties were unable or unwilling to provide them—on the contrary they would very much like to—but as a matter of provincial policy. The decision of the Ontario government to phase out funding for Additional Qualifications courses opens up

the question of whether the existing certification structure should be replaced and there are certainly strong arguments to be made in favour of recognizing specialized graduate degrees for certification and salary purposes, as they are, in fact, in many other provinces. This would be particularly sensible since many school boards require employees to hold graduate degrees for certain positions and where there is also a Ministry certification requirement, teachers are faced with costly duplication.[7]

ISSUES AND CONCERNS

In the popular media and in common parlance, Ontarians commonly refer to Faculties of Education as Teachers' Colleges. Obviously this is an anachronism, a habit of speech left over from the 60's. In recent years we have become very much aware of how seemingly innocuous habits of speech can convey implied sexist and/or ethno-centric meanings, which may be just as harmful as explicit slights – possibly more so since they are harder to identify and challenge. The term "Teachers' College" likewise carries implied meanings which perpetuate outdated assumptions and misunderstandings in the way people think about teacher education: it is not uncommon for otherwise well informed individuals to be unaware that the Faculty of Education is part of the university; it is not unknown for Faculties to receive queries from people who wish to become teachers by taking a summer course; the popular press and the broadcast media frequently misrepresent Faculties as Ministry Colleges or affiliated colleges.

Teachers' Colleges, in the Ontario experience, were Normal Schools: training institutions to which high school graduates went to receive practical instruction in pedagogy. The programs were usually a continuation of the traditional high school model, discouraging critical thought and expecting students to master a prescribed set of rules and practices deemed by the authorities to be appropriate. Student teachers expected to be told exactly what to do; the public expected most teachers to possess a high school education and some specialized training; school boards expected to hire perfectly formed, off-the-shelf, ready-to-use teachers; and teachers expected to continue to teach the same material, in the same manner, to essentially the same type of student, throughout their careers. Expectations such as these are obviously incompatible with both the concept of professional teacher education and the complex realities of schools today. Many of the tensions and dissatisfactions which surround teacher education today could be attributed to such anachronistic understandings and misinformation but this does not mean that they can be summarily dismissed, for they raise important questions about the fundamental assumptions underlying teacher education. Some of the more prevalent criticisms are addressed below, grouped loosely under three headings: who gets in, what are they taught, and who teaches them.

Who gets in?

One of the most commonly held misperceptions is that all admissions to Faculties of Education are decided entirely on the basis of academic standing. There are commonly held folk myths that studious scholars make poor teachers and many poorly educated individuals make wonderful teachers. Obviously this is neither entirely true nor entirely untrue but the underlying assumption is that some factor other than scholastic ability determines suitability for teaching. This is almost certainly true but what it is exactly, and how it might be identified has yet to be established, despite a considerable body of research. Many educational professionals insist that could they identify future successful teachers easily; some of them probably could but such unsubstantiated subjective preferences would hardly be acceptable as the basis upon which to determine the future of education and of individual applicants' lives. Since the only reliable method yet devised for objectively identifying a potentially good teacher involves working with that person through a period of preparation and practice, it is difficult to see how selection criteria could be formulated to fairly evaluate all applicants on whether or not they possess the elusive personal characteristic which predicts an aptitude for teaching. Furthermore, for every anecdote about a potentially wonderful

teacher who was denied admission on academic grounds, there is a corresponding anecdote about an outstanding student who was denied the opportunity to explore his or her potential as a teacher on purely subjective grounds.

Experience profiles, while generally held to be an improvement over straight academic choice, are not without their drawbacks. The type of experiences which may be seen as valuable are not equally available to all potential students. In particular, students whose financial situation requires that they work to support their education may have had few opportunities to accumulate volunteer experiences, and part-time work with children is notoriously poorly paid. Similarly, males do not generally speaking have as many opportunities to work with young children as do females. Furthermore, there is no standardization in the evaluation of profiles: one judge or team may value Sunday-school teaching while another may consider it inappropriate; one judge or team may value sports activities but not musical activities, and so on. Since it is generally impossible to have all profiles read by the same team, different standards of judgement will be applied even within the same program. Critics argue that awarding places on the basis of profile ratings is less objective and potentially more discriminatory than simple academic standing. Proponents argue that at the very least profiles provide a way of screening out the most unsuitable candidates, a way of identifying especially promising candidates whose academic transcripts may not reflect their suitability[8], and a way of involving practitioners in making difficult admission decisions.

It is often suggested that admission to teacher education programs should be based on an interview. One Faculty does in fact interview all short-listed candidates, and several Faculties interview applicants to certain parts of the program. There is some debate over whether interviews can be fair and objective: do different interviewing teams value the same responses, and how much does appearance and presentation count? Indeed, there are fairly extensive research findings which demonstrate that interviews are inherently unreliable (Arvey & Campion, 1982). The sheer expense of interviewing all applicants is impractical, which means that, if interviews are to be used, other screening methods would have to be used first. If these other screening methods are reasonably reliable and carefully implemented, it becomes a moot point whether the interview process adds anything worthwhile other than public relations value.

Another question raised by the criticism of academic standards in admissions is whether there should be university-level academic standards at all, particularly for elementary teachers. There are still many, including some teachers and administrators, who are not convinced that teaching should require a university degree at all, let alone two. This reflects an opinion that teaching, particularly elementary teaching, is a relatively simple job and not a profession requiring a high level of personal and professional education. While this may have been true in the past–and there is some doubt that it ever was, given the persistent complaints of earlier decades that teachers were not sufficiently knowledgeable–it has long been widely recognized that modern teaching is much more demanding than ever before and likely to become more so. Furthermore, when elementary teachers required only high school graduation plus teacher training, the population norm was elementary graduation, making teachers among the most highly educated people in the community. The general population is now much better educated and is entitled to expect that those who teach their children will be better educated than the average.

What are they taught?

Student teachers commonly complain that they spend too little time in schools practising their teaching skills and many people involved in teacher education agree with this. One solution which is frequently suggested, and which has been tried in more than one location, is to simply increase the amount of time spent in schools, often sending students out to practise before they receive any preparatory instruction. If practice time is increased without lengthening the program then inevitably parts of the program must be deleted. This has two effects: students are more likely to be socialized

to the school as it currently is in a particular situation, and they are less likely to have time to study in depth the foundations and complexities of an ever more complex and demanding profession. A recent Royal Commission report in British Columbia was particularly concerned that this aspect of teacher education should not be neglected:

> Teacher preparation programs must place more emphasis on the "foundations" of education. By this we mean study in educational history, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and the politics of schooling. Without opportunity for such rich contextual study, prospective teachers will lack the ability to see their own educational challenges in proper perspective or to recognize the true scope and meaning of education in our lives. (1988, p.130).

The proposed two-year programs offer the possibility of providing more practical experience without detracting from the study of the foundations of profession.

Simply increasing the quantity of practical experience time does not necessarily increase its quality. Everyone learns from experience but if the experience is poor, the learning is poor, and if the learner is lacking the appropriate mental schema into which to integrate the experience, it is poorer still.[9] Faculties have not traditionally done a good job of helping student teachers fit their practical experiences into their theoretical frameworks, probably because they did not themselves agree on the purpose of the practicum. Recent developments such as counselling groups and reflective sessions during practicum are a start but there is clearly a need to do much more and merely dumping student teachers into schools for longer periods of time is not sufficient. There is a limit to the amount of useful practical experience which can be integrated into a pre-service program. The purpose of the practicum is not to give student teachers so much experience that they leave the program with all the wisdom, judgement and repertoire of experienced teachers; graduates of a pre-service program are not experienced teachers, they are beginning teachers and it is ludicrous to criticize pre-service programs for being unable to turn out ready-made teachers. The practicum should also not be expected to do what an induction program or mentoring of new teachers can do; "practice" can never substitute for being on the job and the profession has a responsibility to provide support for new members. The purpose of the practicum in a pre-service program is to enable student teachers to get the feel of the role, to try out their skills, and to examine how the theoretical foundations they have learned apply in real situations.

There is a commonly heard criticism, which is tantamount to folkloric among teachers, that these theoretical foundations are "irrelevant". The fundamental attitude underlying this statement is that student teachers need to be trained in practical skills and nothing else. Some school-based and field-based programs apparently subscribe to this attitude as would the apprenticeship-type programs recommended in some quarters. Such programs in effect train teachers in a specific situation, when in fact nothing is more characteristic of Ontario classrooms than their diversity. It is impossible to prepare future teachers for every possible combination of student abilities and backgrounds, of administrative climates, of future curricular and organizational developments, of geographic peculiarities. Concentrating on any one specific combination by remaining in a single school or even a single system reduces the scope of the preparation program. Since it is impossible to arrange for student teachers to actually experience more than a limited number of possible teaching situations, it is even more important that they spend sufficient time considering the many variables which may affect their future positions.

It is not sufficient for teachers to know only the nuts and bolts of what they are expected to teach and how to teach it; they must also understand and be able to explain why they are teaching what they are teaching and why they are choosing certain methods; they must understand how social and emotional factors affect student learning, and be able to diagnose how different students learn. Accountability begins with the classroom teacher and when parents ask about content or methodology they have a right to a reasoned, professional explanation from the classroom teacher.

As the Royal Commission in B.C. noted, these are the foundations upon which professional practice is built and they are at least as important as the technical details of classroom survival.

Ironically, another criticism of pre-service programs is that they are not sufficiently abstract in nature: student teachers, who are adult university graduates are in some cases treated more like secondary school students, performing trivial exercises and inconsequential assignments, and even being required to take content classes in subjects in which they already hold degrees. The point raised is a valid one: if we seek out highly educated and capable candidates and promise them professional education, it is absurd to drill them in petty tasks. There is no doubt that this type of throwback to a Teachers' College paradigm happens to a greater or lesser extent in all programs. It can often be attributed largely to individual instructors, and as Faculties seek to establish themselves more as professional schools within the university, these anomalies could be expected to disappear. The problem may be, however, that they are not anomalies, for there is considerable disagreement among and within Faculties on this whole question, which could simplistically be characterized as a Teachers' College paradigm versus a university paradigm.

Who teaches them?

A common criticism of the staff in Faculties is that they are out of touch with what is really happening in classrooms because their own experience is out of date. Clearly this criticism is based on the same assumption that only the practical elements of teacher preparation are of value, and that scholars who study education have nothing to offer. Obviously there is a need for both practitioners and scholars in the preparation of teachers, and both should be respected for their contributions.

Permanent professorial positions in Faculties of Education are generally offered to individuals who have both professional and academic qualifications. Typically, such individuals obtained basic teaching qualifications, taught successfully in the school system for a number of years[10], gained advanced teaching qualifications, left teaching to pursue a doctorate and decided to opt for a career studying and researching education. Faculties seek to hire individuals who have doctoral degrees, research capabilities, scholastic ability, proven teaching ability and extensive professional experience, who are thus acceptable to both the university and the profession. Inevitably, such individuals are much older than most entry-level university appointees, and university entry-level salaries compare poorly with what these people could command in the field and their professional experience often precedes their academic work and is not, therefore, absolutely current.

It is one of the functions of universities to provide a place wherein those with both the desire and the aptitude can study and research a subject and contribute to the growth of human knowledge. Scholars in professional schools study and research aspects of the profession, as a service to the profession but not as its servant[11], and use their study and research to inform the preparation of future members of the profession. Their research and study is not totally removed from the day-to-day realities of the profession. Most of those who study and research education are very much involved in schools; they spend time in schools and school systems interacting extensively with and observing practitioners and students and then spend time analysing, synthesizing and studying. In this sense, their understanding of "what is really happening" is extremely current; it is also quite different from that of the practitioner whose focus is on day-to-day experiences in a single set of circumstances. Both types of understanding are important to the profession and to student teachers.

Secondments and part-time appointments have traditionally been used to bring practitioners with recent teaching experience into the Faculties on a rotating basis. Unfortunately, secondees are sometimes reluctant to rotate back into the classroom and in these financially constrained times, since senior teaching salaries are usually much higher than junior university salaries, these practices are in jeopardy. In the future it will be necessary to find new ways of bringing practitioners into the pre-service program. One possibility which is already being explored in some Faculties and which

is not uncommon in other provinces, is to involve graduate students in the pre-service program as teaching assistants. This may well be possible if graduate programs expand as part of a new in-service teacher education model.

A vital part of every student teacher's preparation is in the hands of associate teachers and yet there are no widely established criteria for selecting or evaluating these individuals. Typically associates are self-selected and only in the most extreme cases of unsuitability is a volunteer refused. It is not unknown for principals to encourage teachers to become associates precisely because they are not very good teachers and would themselves benefit from the experience. Once selected, associates are often left to their own devices: they are told nothing about what the student brings to the practicum or what is expected of themselves or the student. Some Faculties and boards are running special courses for associates in the hope of improving this situation but the fundamental problem remains: associate teachers are for the most part not recognized as being part of the staffing of pre-service programs. The meagre financial remuneration which associates currently receive is an insult to their professional status and their contribution to teacher education but represents a significant burden on the Faculties. The notion of paying associate teachers in coin would be considered an aberration elsewhere in the country. The position of associate should be a prestigious one denoting superior professional competence and bestowing upon the incumbent appropriate professional benefits. Associates should be carefully selected for their professional competence and willingness to help new teachers develop; they should be sufficiently well integrated into the pre-service program that they understand what the practicum is supposed to accomplish; they should be carefully evaluated by their employers, by the Faculty and by the student teachers themselves; and they should be recognized as an essential part of the pre-service team and given appropriate professional recognition.

SUMMARY

The Faculties of Education attract considerable criticism on the topic of teacher education but they cannot be held solely responsible for the current state of affairs. Every student brings a set of pre-conceived ideas regarding the nature of teaching; faculty members in other university faculties and departments influence student opinions about the teaching profession and the school system; and teachers and administrators in practice teaching schools influence student ideas and opinions. More importantly, the structure and content of programs, especially in-service programs, is legislated and inflexible, tied inexorably to an outdated certification model.

Furthermore, the expectations held for pre-service programs are frequently unreasonable. A pre-service teacher education program can only be expected to prepare individuals to begin a career in teaching; it cannot produce off-the-shelf teachers who can be expected to assume immediately the same duties as experienced teachers. The development and nurturing of new teachers once they are on the job is a responsibility of the profession and of the employers. Faculties can operate pre-service programs and can contribute to in-service development of practising teachers; they cannot provide support for the day-to-day experiences of new teachers. Induction programs, mentoring schemes, even differentiated staffing models would all assist beginning teachers and should be considered part of the responsibilities of the employer.

Ontario is locked in an outmoded model of teacher education long since abandoned by other provinces. Centralized government control has restricted the natural development of a tradition of academic study of education, of a strong research base for education, and of the profession itself as a self-sustaining body. With respect to teacher education–although not in other parts of their operation–Faculties of Education remain essentially delivery agents for the Ministry, and are not likely to move beyond this handicapped role as long as the Ministry maintains its certification strangle-hold. And yet it is obviously necessary for there to be some central supervision and regulation of teacher education in the province.

The essential question is who *should* control teacher education and certification? The Ministry has devolved into being primarily concerned with advancing the political agenda of the incumbent government. The teacher federations have positioned themselves far more as unions than as professional bodies and clearly are in conflict of interest since they bargain teacher salaries. School boards have specific local interests and political definitions at heart. And the universities have their own agenda as well. None of the vested interest groups can be truly impartial. Who, therefore, can represent the interests of the general public?

Unsuccessful attempts have been made in Ontario to create a more accountable and less partisan governance structure: the College of Teachers idea was successfully scuttled by one set of vested interests and the Teacher Education Council of Ontario was sunk by another. Other provinces have tackled the same question and found solutions, which, while not altogether popular, have forced the various interests to work together. for the greater good of the public, the profession and the provinces' children.

Ontario has a history of considering itself unique in educational matters and discounting or even demeaning the experiences and ideas of other provinces. But the control of teacher education is far too important to leave in the hands of any one group; it is time for Ontario to look to other provinces for models which will help us move forward.

[1] The Ministry was formerly known as the Department of Education but in the interests of simplicity the term "Ministry" will be used throughout.

[2] Sources estimate that in 1968/69 only 2 of the total of 384 staff members of the Teachers' Colleges had degrees beyond the Master's level.

[3] The Ministry had contracted out these courses to a number of parties, including school boards, for quite some time prior to this but gradually phased out all other arrangements as the Faculties assumed more of the load.

[4] Not all are actually called Faculties but this will be used as a generic term. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education is not included in this group, since it does not provide pre-service teacher education at all.

[5] In actual fact many applicants to the Technological Studies programs do have university degrees as well as the relevant other qualifications, in which case they do receive the B.Ed. degree.

[6] Target groups include visible minorities, native people, refugees, those with physical disabilities, males in primary programs, and late entrants moving to teaching after another career.

[7] For example, the Ministry requires that principals hold provincial certification, which is granted on completion of a Ministry-controlled course, which is similar to an AQ in many ways. Many boards require that candidates for principalship hold graduate degrees and where a candidate's graduate degree is in school administration there may be considerable overlap. Only Ontario requires special certification for principals: other provinces recognize graduate work in educational administration as an appropriate qualification.

[8] Two illustrative anecdotes may be of interest. One profile processed last year included the statement, "I have always wanted to teach because I would like to have power over others." Another profile demonstrated that an applicant with a B.Sc. in Nursing had, in fact, spent the last ten years writing and teaching school-based health programs in elementary schools.

[9] Research into the value of experience in the principalship demonstrates that experience alone does not ensure expertise; the same is likely true of teaching. (See Allison & Allison, (1993)).

[10] In a few cases specialists in certain areas, such as educational psychology, might not have classroom teaching experience, in much the same way that certain scientific specialists in medical schools have no general practice experience.

[11] This is an important distinction. There will always be a certain amount of tension between professional schools and the profession because one of the functions of a professional school must be to critically analyze the practice of the profession.

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Pre-service Teacher Education
in
Selected Provinces of Canada

Linda D. Williams

January 10, 1994

Williams, Linda D.

***Pre-service Teacher Education in Selected Provinces of Canada*, January 10, 1994.**
***(La formation préalable des enseignantes et enseignants dans quelques provinces du Canada)*, 10 janvier 1994.**

The author has summarized aspects of the pre-service teacher education programs provided at six anglophone universities across Canada. Williams compares mission statements, admission requirements, range of programs, expectations of faculty members, issues and innovations, partnerships in teacher education, relationships to teachers after graduation, quality of graduating teachers, governance, stakeholders, and program review process. She concludes that there is a feeling of excitement in faculties of education as they assume a place of their own in the university community. Research, particularly field-based research, is assuming a more important role, as was the concern to meet the needs of the school systems that the faculties served. However, there is still much debate surrounding program, practice teaching assignments, and the role of faculties of education in professional development.

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L'auteure résume divers aspects des programmes de formation préalable des enseignantes et enseignants dans six universités anglophones situées dans diverses régions du Canada. Elle compare les énoncés de mission, les exigences d'admission, la gamme de programmes, les attentes du personnel enseignant universitaire, les problèmes actuels, les innovations, les partenariats pour la formation des enseignantes et enseignants, les relations avec les enseignantes et enseignants après leur sortie du programme, la qualité des enseignantes et enseignants nouvellement diplômés, la gestion, les partenaires et le processus de révision des programmes. L'auteure conclut que les facultés d'éducation s'épanouissent au fur et à mesure qu'elles assument dans le milieu universitaire la place qui leur revient. La recherche, notamment sur le terrain, prend une place plus importante. Les facultés cherchent également davantage à répondre aux besoins des systèmes scolaires qu'elles desservent. Toutefois, les programmes, les stages de formation professionnelle et le rôle des facultés d'éducation dans le perfectionnement continuent de soulever des débats animés.

Pre-service teacher education in Canada is undergoing evaluation and a consequent revitalization. The deans who were consulted for this report were excited about the new programs and other changes being contemplated. To provide the Commission with a context for their recommendations concerning Ontario's education with respect to the training of new teachers, this report will summarize aspects of the pre-service teacher education provided at the Universities of British Columbia, Regina, McGill, Laval, New Brunswick and Memorial.

Deans of Education, an Associate Dean of Undergraduate programs, a professor and members of teachers' federations (Appendix A) were contacted by telephone and asked a series of questions (Appendix B). Not all questions were asked of all individuals, and during the discussions, other issues or comments surfaced. Data are summarized in themes arising from the questions. Summaries of the mission statements, range of programs, admission requirements, issues and innovations, partnerships, connections with teachers in the field, governance, stakeholders, program review, and quality of beginning teachers were made from the conversations and any documents supplied.

Mission Statement

Some faculties are in various stages of having or developing mission statements which summarizes a shared philosophy for their teacher education program. The mission statements or vision statements received can be found in Appendix C.

The universities of British Columbia and New Brunswick are developing mission statements. The dean of UBC said the philosophy is there, but is not spelled out. Three bodies came together in 1972 to form the Faculty of Education at UNB, but until recently, had operated as autonomous units. "There was no central mission statement, no `brochure'. We are attempting to break down barriers and restructure." (Smith)

The University of Regina's objective is to train teachers to be independent thinkers. "There is a desire to develop a sense of professional attitude, confidence and competence in the analysis of teaching." (Blenkinsop)

Associate Dean Treslan (Memorial) said their philosophy of the nature of teaching and learning, the role of schools in society and the nature of how one learns to teach has received a lot of attention in the last few years. In the Secondary program, discussions on the role of the classroom, the contemporary classroom, and school in society are part of the courses.

At McGill, there is a core of faculty in the Cognitive Science area who are leading the reforms. Most of the faculty are beginning to see how the program is coming together, what the possibilities are, and to have a sense of ownership for the teacher education program. The faculty have a Vision statement and are in the process of approving their Mission statement.

Admission Requirements

In determining who to admit to their programs universities usually use a combination of grade point average, a letter of intent, letters of reference and experience with children. Several of the universities require demonstrated competency in English. The procedures will be described for each university as well as any strategies used to include previously under-represented groups.

UBC considers professional requirements before subject matter requirements. Applicants submit a statement on why they want to become teachers and give examples of their relationship with children, their experience teaching children, experience in leadership positions and obtain two confidential letters of reference indicating the applicant's suitability to teaching. The applicants are evaluated by a group of teachers in the field. Then subject matter and grade point average are

considered. All Elementary students must have a full year course in English, mathematics,' a science, and Geography or History and a number of senior credits in a teaching field in elementary school. Secondary students must have a major in a subject they want to teach and must do a full year of English. All students must take oral and written English proficiency exams at the beginning of the term, and if necessary, be coached.

The U of R has been selecting students on their Grade Point Average, which is very high because of the demand (1300 applications for 250 positions). Therefore Tymchak feels it is important to strike a balance between the academic side and the applicant's profile. They also consider experience with children and writing ability (both content and ability to use standard English). There are two readers per application for the initial sort to determine who is not suitable and the G.P.A. Final selections are made by the group of faculty who will be teaching that student. They are looking for bright, really "withit" students who are interested in children. The situation is program driven: in programs where there is a shortage, entrance is easier.

At McGill, the Faculty of Education does not see the file until the students are admitted. The first requirement is a 75% average. Leadership skills and experience with children are considered secondly. This may change with the new program.

The admission requirements for the University of New Brunswick are changing. Until now, it was on G. P. A. Last year, the faculty of Education was the highest in the university with 84.4%. The new program will make the first selection on G.P.A., letter of intent, letters of reference, and an experience profile. Lastly, successful people will be interviewed to determine final selection. Faculty members will be paired with one other stakeholder as a way of engaging them in the process. They admit 500.

The entrance for Memorial is 65% minimum, but no one was admitted this year with less than 75% (after degree). They consider overall academic' performance, demonstrated competence in written English, and two letters of reference from someone in the student's instructional areas. Students must have completed twelve courses in their first teachable subject area, and eight in their second.

With the exception of natives, little specific action has been taken with regard to previously under-represented groups. All the universities except Laval indicated there was a native and northern teacher education program. Francophone students in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan have their own teacher education program in French. All deans were aware of the question; most said it was not a problem at their universities.

There is no quota at UBC, but it is becoming multicultural. For 54% of the students, English is a second language. There are greater numbers of visible minorities, but the faculty has targeted only natives. When asked if there were special allowances, the Dean answered that if it came down to two applicants, acceptance would be given to the ethnic student. Some students do not want to be identified, so it is done more informally.

The Saskatchewan Indian Federated College is growing and is part of the teacher education program at Regina. There are two programs, the Indian Teacher Education Program and the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program, for the preparation of native teachers. A category on the application form allows students to indicate if they are from a minority.
At McGill, a Committee on Inclusion has just been formed to encourage people to be inclusive. A policy is being generated, but the first problem is how to count the groups. The university has a good equity policy but, until now, it has been voluntary. For the university of Laval, the presence of under-represented groups is "not an issue".

There is little problem with under-represented groups in New Brunswick,' either. Linguistically, the francophones have their own system and the aboriginal peoples have the Micmac Malsee

Institute, a bridging mechanism which allows a "soft" entrance. After a time of integration during which they gain skills and confidence, students join the mainstream. There is a large number of natives in the Faculty now. Otherwise, NB is not very diverse. There are some international students, and although the number is not large, it seems to be representative of the population. Dean Smith indicated it was not like the situation in York where the university students are white and the people outside the university are not.

Range of Programs

Teacher education is comprised of academic and professional preparation. The professional aspect includes general and subject-specific theories of teaching and learning, and, practical experience in the field. Faculties recognize the need for solid academic preparation and in-depth professional education. "There is a broad range in education - birth to death - not just the school system." (Sheehan, 1993)

To meet this need, the universities have a variety of undergraduate programs, some with alternate routes, and several graduate level programs. The undergraduate programs include Primary/Elementary and Secondary Education, Vocational Education, Special Education, Native and Northern Education, Human Kinetics, and Adult Education, as well as special programs in Art, Music, Industrial Arts, Second Language, Religion, Day Care, and Physical Education. Some programs are unique and, others, very new.

The University of New Brunswick is in the process of developing new programs. Memorial is in the first year of their new secondary program with expectations that the elementary program will change, too. They have developed new graduate programs in Educational Leadership, Teaching and Learning, and School Counselling and School Psychology to begin September' 1, 1994. McGill and Laval are preparing to implement their new programs in the fall of 1994; the University of British Columbia changed their program in 1987, and the University of Regina has revamped its Elementary and secondary programs in the 1980s.

The desired balance between the academic and professional training affects the placement of, and the weight given to, the various components within the program. In some programs, the components move together throughout the program (concurrent); in others, the professional training follows a baccalaureate (consecutive). Major reviews of education have led to opposite recommendations in teacher education programs: Quebec has moved from the consecutive to the concurrent program as a result of their review; New Brunswick and Memorial have done the opposite.

At the universities of British Columbia, New Brunswick and Memorial, students must have an undergraduate degree before entering the program. The Bachelor of Education is either two years or three consecutive semesters (September to August at UBC and Memorial) for a total of at least five years teacher preparation. The universities of McGill and Laval have new four-year programs in which students take two subject area specializations and professional courses concurrently. Regina is the only university which has both a consecutive, two-to-three-year after-degree program, and a concurrent, four-year degree program.

Consistently the secondary programs now have two teachable areas rather than one. This change is a reflection of the need for teachers to be more flexible. Most of the practica consist of internships, although the length of them varies from ten weeks at Memorial to sixteen weeks at the Regina. The actual content of the program varies among the faculties.

The program at UBC is "quite prescriptive", according to Dean Sheehan. Everyone must take "Introduction to Principles of Teaching", "Curriculum and Instruction" for specialization, and, "Communication" (in large groups,' small groups, and one on one). There are intense components on special education, native education, and multiculturalism as modules within courses. Analysis

of education is an important focus within this faculty.

In the concurrent elementary program at the University of Regina, students take one introductory Education and seven Arts and Science classes in their first year. The second, third and fourth years include generic education classes called Educational Professional Studies, methods classes in their specializations, and upper level methodology and/or Arts and Science classes along with a graduated practicum. The practicum moves from one day a week in a school (second year) to a semester internship (fourth year). Human relations issues about under-represented groups are examined within the cross-cultural, social studies and special education classes. The combination of Educational Professional Studies and field experience is similar in the secondary program.

At McGill, Laval and UNB new programs are being developed. Dean Wall, at McGill, said the students will probably go to the schools once a week for the first year with a block of time at the end of the year. He indicated student teaching is one of the strengths of the program, accomplished "with limited resources and a lot of good will". UNB plans to try two routes: in one, after course work students will do practical work in the form of an internship; in the other, the faculty will experiment with integration of theory and practice. Students who live in other parts of Canada are able, in the consecutive program, to return home to do their practicum, if someone there can supervise them.

Expectations of Faculty

Faculties of education have demands on their time unique to their situations within the above programs. Not only must they teach, set exams, mark, counsel students, conduct research and publish like other university faculty, many supervise students in the field. The deans were asked to outline the expectations for their faculties.

UBC and Laval indicated research is a major component in their programs. "It is critical that faculty research and publish papers. If teacher education is in the university, we must have a research component. It must be an intellectual activity looking at the why of what we do and how we can improve." (Sheehan, UBC, 1993) Wall (McGill) warns "the worst thing is an overemphasis on research. Instead, research should enhance teaching and service." (1993)

The deans indicated "research is going into the schools more and more. Education is everywhere. The needs are great so it is easy to develop your own specialty. It is tremendously important to look at what is happening in the schools and to bring back the energy." (Laferriere, Laval) When Dean Smith summarized the work of the faculty at the University of New Brunswick, they were surprised to discover the amount of research in which they were involved, in spite of their presumed focus on teaching and supervision.

The University of Regina is drawing up a new document on promotion and tenure with a strong emphasis on teacher education and a key role for practica. McGill just finished a Merit Pay Policy, "developed from the bottom up". Wall believes there is no excuse for not being tenured. "When faculty do what we are supposed to do, for example, look at how students learn, we are respected. If we are going to pretend to be sociologists or psychologists, we will lose. When people do worthwhile projects in terms of education, such as working on evaluation forms with the ministry, the faculty are credited for it and are tenured. It is a big error to look at' publications only or above the practical application."

The expectations at Memorial are spelled out in the collective agreement. Of the total time, they are to have no more than:
    40% teaching
    40% research and scholarly activities
    20% service (committee work and service to community).

The responsibility for the supervision of students in the schools varies considerably from UBC and Memorial, where they hire people for this purpose, to UNB, where even the dean supervises student teachers. Many universities have made allowances for faculty who supervise students. For example, Memorial considers supervising four to five students the equivalent of teaching one class. Some UBC faculty members mostly deal with graduate students, are not involved with student teaching, "and you would not want them to be!" (Sheehan, 1993) Several creative solutions to the demands of field supervision have been generated.

Issues and Innovations

All the deans talked of some issues facing them and the ideas being contemplated in both existing and developing programs.

Supervision of field experiences is a consistent issue. Some faculties like to second teachers to supervise students, but find the costs prohibitive. UNB is developing some clever financial sharing arrangements with other stakeholders. Usually senior people seconded to the university are replaced by less expensive personnel. Since the school districts benefit from having their staff involved with the university program, they have agreed to charge the university the lesser amount. McGill, too, is looking at an enhanced practicum with joint responsibility of other players, including financial resources. Memorial hires retired teachers for $14,000 per semester, but the government is concerned about "double-dipping". To' try to reduce costs, Memorial has entered into a legal contract with ten school districts. Under the contract, the school districts assume responsibility for the students at a cost of $700 per intern.

Other innovations arise from issues within the jurisdictions or from the desire to improve the quality of teacher education provided.

UBC is working with a school district to develop a program that focuses on middle school (ages 11 -15). If successful, they plan to pilot it in September, 1994. Another issue for them is the practicum and how to evaluate it. They have pilot practica to examine possibilities. They also are viewing both the teachers and the students as professionals within the school and the implications of such an outlook.

The University of Regina has several innovations. One is the split of the pre-internship year between the second and third years and the subsequent placement of the internship in the final year. Dean Tymchak indicated also, they are "vaguely thinking about formatting the program as a Kindergarten to Grade 12 with elementary and secondary being majors within the basic program". It would have an interdisciplinary approach similar to the existing elementary program. Meanwhile, the Academic Review has recommended a B.Ed. after degree program as a means to save money. However, instead of an after-degree program, they may have a combined B.A./B.Ed. to eliminate the concern of having to "resocialize" people who have followed the consecutive rather than the concurrent route. The concurrent program is "more successful" in promoting an orientation to teaching and learning instead of a subject orientation. Another big issue for them is that of excellence and standards and how that may affect the structure of teacher education. The University of Regina's Bachelor of Education in Arts Education has a completely new curriculum in which the arts are integrated. The program parallels the Elementary and Secondary programs, but prepares teachers to teach dance, visual arts, music and drama. Their Vocational Education program is also unique. Students do not' take educational methods or foundation classes and there is no teaching on campus. The program is specially funded to meet the teachers' needs, which are different from other areas. There are undergraduate and graduate programs for nursing, business, banking, instructors for regional colleges. An example of the program is the Nursing program at Ponoka Hospital. They have trainers in the work place. A final innovation is a class on university teaching modules they started in the fall.

A key thrust for McGill is "to be known in [their] own backyard, not Japan, but Rosedale". They want to be close to the action in the classroom, so the faculty is reaching out into the community. With the development of their new program and its emphasis on collaboration, Dean Wall would like to move toward a faculty team approach in order to prepare reflective, keen, open teachers. There is a School Improvement project in which the faculty provides training for principals and administrators based on what their perceived needs are. They have students placed in the Arctic and are looking at community-based teacher education for native and northern education. In their program, they are moving toward generic methods and generic student-teaching supervision by grouping similar subject matters. There is a close connection between structure of knowledge and how to teach it.

Laval, a very large institution with a heavy research focus, is going into the schools more and more. There is a lot of reform connected with the government's directives. Learning activities will be more integrated with subject matter and education in the new four-year program.

The dean at the University of New Brunswick was appointed with the mandate to revise the teacher education program. In the new year, they will look at the committee structure of the faculty and research the culture of the faculty as steps toward building a shared philosophy.

The development the new teacher education program at Memorial is causing' many innovations as they implement the recommendations of the Hardy Report (1992). As of September, 1994, pre-Education will be a part of the Arts faculty at Memorial University.

Partnerships

Many exciting things are happening with partnerships in teacher education. The placement of students in the field was mentioned most often as the Faculty of Education's linkage with practising teachers. Faculties' natural partners are teachers' unions and associations, trustees, the Department of Education, and other faculties within the university. The deans shared several examples of ways in which partnerships were working at their faculties.

In Quebec, collaboration has been decreed by the Ministry of Education through the creation of two committees (Appendix D).

> The "Minister hopes to encourage the participation and cooperation of all the concerned partners in defining the key issues involved in the initial training and professional development of teachers. She also aims to ensure cohesion in the actions carried out by the various partners and to provide a forum where they can come together to reflect on issues, keep up-to-date on current developments and look ahead to the future. ... [Because the following] factors come into play, the criteria for admission into training programs, the standards for entry into the profession, practical training, the induction process, training models, [and] in-service training will be [examined]." (*Teacher Training: Mechanism for Cooperation*, 1993, p.17)

Alliances between the McGill faculty and the field are considerable through student teaching, teaching on campus, the Centre for Educational Leadership and action research. According to Dean Wall,

> When you partner with people, you achieve exciting things. We are involved in a new competency project with the field. Because we have known them for years, it is easier to do research. You feel a closeness. We have twenty teachers in four remote boards. We have professionals come into meetings' with us. It is absolutely fundamental that you have commitment of people in the schools. You have to nurture cooperating or adjunct teachers. (1993)

UBC collaborated with the ministry, the three universities, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, and the College of Teachers to make a video to encourage minorities to consider teaching as a profession. They also are working with a school district to develop a program on middle schools. The faculty seconds teachers for the supervision of interns.

Partnerships have played a strong role in the development of the Bachelor of Education program, particularly in the field component, at the University of Regina. Costs of the four-day internship seminar where cooperating teachers and their interns are coached on the desired style of supervision are borne by the University, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, the school boards and the trustees. However, Dean Tymchak pointed out "constraints tend to break down partnerships".

Input from the field, who thought teachers did not have adequate academic foundation and required an undergraduate degree before learning to teach, precipitated the changed program at Memorial. They have close liaison with teachers' associations. Memorial includes members from the Home and School Association as well as the Department of Education, School Trustees, professional Teachers' Association and representatives from the university on an Advisory Committee which meets two or three times a year for the purpose of long-range planning.

The Faculties of Education at McGill, Laval, New Brunswick and Memorial have linked up with other faculties within the university for a variety of programs. At Laval the connections are such that specific courses in other faculties have been designed for teachers. Dean Laferriere has sent lists of courses to one hundred professors for their information. Memorial has connections with the faculties of Arts, Science and Physical Education. As of September, 1994, pre-Education will be part of the Faculty of Arts.'

Currently eight UNB faculties, including Nursing and Forestry, want their graduates to have some of the organizational and teaching skills offered by the Faculty of Education. These faculties find that their graduates soon move to management positions which require the human resource skills provided by the Faculty of Education, so programs to meet their needs are being developed. The partnerships have worked so well that the Faculty of Engineering asked to be involved, too. A program in Nursing has been developed, also, for the new image of a school nurse who is a teacher serving as a nurse part of the time.

Relationships to Teachers after Graduation

Faculties have little to do with teachers as they are inducted into the profession and beyond. The faculties' graduate programs were mentioned most frequently as the contact with practising teachers. However, other connections are being developed.

Not much has been done in the province of British Columbia, according to Dean Sheehan. Working with beginning teachers has been left up to the school districts. The University has been involved with a few pilot projects, but nothing specific. UBC has a large graduate program (1400 masters and doctoral students) and a Diploma program. It is offered across the province with a "distance education" format. Courses for the program are offered at Castlegar and Cranbrook (in the interior) during the winter and on-campus in summer. The program is funded by the province as an off™site teacher education program.

At the University of Regina, they have Extended Studies and graduate programs for teachers' advancement. The Faculty provide inservice for practising teachers at schools and at conferences. Although an unintended spin-off, the cooperating teachers' involvement in the pre-internship and internship programs provides professional development for them. As a result of a study, the importance of induction in the first few years of' teaching was realized. It was found that the internship was helpful and that the first few years were very powerful. Derwyn Crozier-Smith, Executive Assistant with the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, is conducting case studies of six

beginning teachers and has looked at a very formal approach in Surrey, B. C. where a hand out specifies roles and responsibilities with respect to first-year teachers.

McGill does not have professional development for teachers yet because "teacher unions are reluctant to go the master-teacher route" (Wall). However, teachers enrol in graduate programs and hear faculty members at conferences or workshops.

At Laval, a doctoral dissertation is just being completed on the situation of first-year teachers. Quebec is evolving policy on the induction of first-year teachers and has said it is the responsibility of the school districts and the universities. There will be a strong emphasis on helping new teachers. The prime responsibility for the practica goes to the universities and for the first-year teachers, the school districts. The government has published a document with respect to practice teaching and first-year teachers.

At Memorial, there is more contact with first-year and experienced teachers now than a decade ago, "but it is not adequate" (Treslan). The Faculty maintains close liaison with the Newfoundland Teachers' Association. They do a bit of inservice and bring professionals from NTA to expose students on campus to the latest in methodology. There has been considerable change within the Faculty at Memorial and they are now perceived by the field to be listening. Some who were not in favour of the changes were among the twenty-seven who left the faculty last year.

Quality of Graduating Teachers

Generally, faculties have been praised for the skills of teachers entering' the profession.

UBC has been told the beginning teachers are wonderful and the school districts wish they could hire more. Directors of Education say Regina graduates have never been better. In fact, they are surprised with how well prepared they are for teaching. The Director of Coquitlam told the McGill students it was the best faculty in the country. Wall said the students would not say that. However, as one director told Smith (UNB), because they have the luxury of hiring only those they want, they are very satisfied.

Concurrent programs allow faculty to counsel out the students who are not doing well. At UNB, they have arrangements for other faculties to accept the students' courses in their programs. For the benefit of all, it gives students for whom teaching is not a good career choice, other options.

Schools were part of the survey which indicated a concern that the faculty at Memorial were not producing the kind of teacher they wanted. The schools are very pleased with the Elementary program which was revised ten years ago. Their response to the new secondary program remains to be seen. Feedback from the field will be used to level any "the rough edges" which are identified.

Governance

The provincial governments have discharged their responsibility for teacher certification in different ways. "Requirements for Teaching Certificates in Canada" by the Canadian Education Association provides a succinct summary of specific requirements.

Certification is granted by the British Columbia College of Teachers, not by the Ministry. The procedure was changed in 1987 as a result of a provincial inquiry. The BC College of Teachers determines what they will' accept for initial certification.

In Saskatchewan, the Board of Teacher Education and Certification has strong powers as set out in the Education Act. The universities are represented on the Board by the deans. In theory, it reviews university budgets and controls the requirements for certification.

The Ministry of Education in Quebec has established the *Comite d'agrement des programmes de formation a l'enseignement* comprised of representatives from Quebec society to set the standards. Universities submit their programs to the committee which judges the merits of the program and recommends whether or not to recognize the program for certification. The *Comite d'orientation de la formation du personnel enseignant* was established to advise the Minister on any policy issues related to teacher training.

In Newfoundland, the university's responsibility is subject to the decrees of the Department of Education. The faculty trains a teacher who must become certified. In order to be certified, the teacher must apply to, and be recommended by, one of the denominational education councils.

Stakeholders

In addition to the effect provincial regulations, "teacher education is the meeting point of many interest groups." (Tymchak) The partners of the faculties mentioned earlier tend to be those who influence the direction of teacher education.

In Saskatchewan, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, the School Trustees, and the Department of Education are part of the picture. In Quebec the committees established by the government, the four different school boards, and the various teachers' unions have an interest in teacher education. Newfoundland has input from the Home and School' Association as well. It is the only province in which the church is an important stakeholder.

The government of New Brunswick is a stakeholder in a unique way. The Premier has a personal "hands-on" approach. "He follows up, not to intrude, but to ask how the changes are going, and he makes money available to try new ideas. The government will never say you have to do something, but will suggest it and give you the money to try the proposal." (Smith)

The provincial curriculum affects the direction of teacher education to varying degrees. The faculties take the curriculum guidelines into account along with all documents that affect the school so that the students understand what are the regulations and guidelines and how the system works. To understand the principles of curriculum development and to think critically about curricula gives them the employability skill of being able to use curriculum, which is more important than studying the specific curriculum of the time.

Program Review

The deans shared the formal and informal methods of program review. Many program changes have resulted from recent provincial or faculty reviews of education. Of the five provinces, Saskatchewan is the only one who has not had a major review in the last five years. However, they, too, have made changes.

The universities of Regina and New Brunswick have no formal program review in place, but the program is assessed and reviewed periodically. "One measure of success are the reports on students coming from the Directors [of the school boards] who do a lot of recruiting at the U of R." (Blenkinsop, 1993)

At McGill, the program is reviewed every five years and there is a program evaluation given to them by each student for each class. Every program in the faculty at Memorial is to be reviewed at the end of five years by a committee composed of "inside" and "outside" people. The review is then submitted to an external group of one or two experts in the field. "It is an onerous task for the faculty" (Treslan, 1993), but the energy which their last review has generated is positive.

Observations

As I prepared the report, some common themes and questions emerged.

- All the deans were excited about their programs and simultaneously planning improvements.
- Faculties of education seem to be assuming a place of their own within the university community. They are making unique contributions to other faculties and collaborating with them on new programs. The body of research on the teaching and learning processes seems to have assumed a critical mass. There is more confidence in what we know works in teacher education.
- A considerable amount of research tends to be field oriented. Action research is encouraged within the faculties. Through it, links with the field are forged and become useful in program development
- The deans have limited awareness of other programs.
- Several deans referred to "small is beautiful". Dean Smith (UNB) said "knowing each other requires a civility in a more human scale environment. Everyone is predisposed to work together." Is there a way of creating this feeling in larger areas?
- Most faculties require demonstrated competency in English. (Laval was not asked about French.)
- Most of the deans referred to the importance of the analysis of and reflection of teaching.
- The deans had a sense of a shared philosophy within their faculties, and, if they did not have a mission statement, they were in the process of developing one.
- There was a concern to meet specific needs within the school system as well as the needs of other professions which has led to a proliferation of programs. Sustaining all of them is a problem.
- The question of whether to begin the professional training during or after academic preparation continues to challenge faculties of education. There is a concern of how to prepare teachers so that although their first skill is teaching, that they have a solid subject' foundation.
- There was a concern about how to include all that seemed to be necessary. As a result, it is generally accepted that four years is not adequate any longer.
- There was a common concern about how to facilitate the induction of teachers, and continue teachers' education. Both seemed to be jurisdictional and financial issues: who was responsible for first-year teachers and who would pay; and, did anyone have a right to force teachers to continue their professional education.
- Related to this issue, was that of deciding the continuum of what teachers should learn and when.
- Faculties are interested in finding ways to recognize the contribution practising teachers make to their programs (such as giving them credit towards advanced degrees), and including them more (i.e., teaching on campus). However the logistics of making arrangements with boards inhibited easy movement between school district and faculty. The higher salaries paid to teachers in the school systems was a deterrent to faculties wanting to hire or second them.
- Faculties were interested in more formal connections with teachers' continual professional development or inservice.
- Finances were a general concern, so much so, that several faculties have become quite creative in their solutions.

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- "A Summary and Some Personal Comments" by Bernard J. Shapiro, University of Toronto
- Presentation by Dave Marshall
- Appendix A: Background Issues
- Appendix B: Conference Agenda and Participants
- Appendix C: "Professional Development in Other Provinces" by Robert Kymlicka
- Appendix D: Vic Cicci Proposal and Notes from Frank Dillon
- Appendix E: Discussion Group Reports (including Diagram of Teacher Continuing Education Advisory Council - TCEAC)
- Appendix F: TECO Recommendations on In-Service (Report of the Task Force on TEACHER IN-SERVICE to the Teacher Education Council, Ontario).

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5 - "There is also much than can *only* be learned well in the formative years of teaching."

7 - "Programs have one or more frameworks grounded in theory and research as well as practice; frameworks that explicate, justify, and build consensus around such fundamental conceptions as the *role* of the teacher, the *nature* of teaching and learning, and the *mission* of schools in this democracy."

17 - Table 2 lists functions of teacher readiness
- dealing effectively with learning disabled
- studying own teaching
- evaluating pupil learning
- diagnosing learner needs
- understanding and responding to student difference
- reaching with computers
- instructional planning
- classroom management
- teaching methods

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241	- Introduction and abstract
242	- The rising tide of induction in Ontario
243	- Overview of new teacher support
244	- Rationale for new teacher support
	- Purpose of induction programmes
245	- Participants
	- Governance and administration - status and issues
247	- Programme components and sources of support
248	- Integration with other policies and programmes
249	- Evaluation and monitoring
	- A summary of themes and issues
251	- The ebb and flow of practice ... and policy

Wideen, Marvin F., Jolie A. Mayer-Smith and Barbara J. Moon. "The Research on Learning to Teach: Prospects and Problems", Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, GA. April, 1993

They undertook "a review of over 25 papers [on learning to teach that followed students through one or more components of their student teaching program], 15 of which [were] reported in this paper."

3 - Carter (1990) suggests that the "learning to teach" question requires a framework that focuses on what is learned and how that knowledge is acquired. ... The framework [they] used drew on: teacher development, constructivism, and knowledge utilization.

4 - Results
- these studies were being conducted by individuals working in programs of teacher education. ... [5] The positive feature of the research ... is that what is being learned can be used to improve programs of teacher education.

5   - Presentation and analysis of data - "often proved to be a mixed blessing". "The researchers frequently drew conclusions that did not appear to rest on the data, or if they did, the links were poorly established."

        - usefulness of the research to inform our practice - good potential

6   - Five themes emerge:
           - *The new enlightenment*: "The community of teacher educators undertaking this research have discovered constructivism ...", [however], "in some of the programs perscription [sic] has been built into the notions of constructivism."
           - *The issue of control*: "we found the issue of perceived control on the part of the students to be central to the process of learning to teach." ... [7] "[T]he student teachers' voices seemed to be saying that they found themselves exercising little control during their practicum and further that their university experiences were not equipping them to take charge at this crucial point in their emerging careers."
7   - *Program effects*: "Eight of the studies reported success in changing student teachers' conceptions, 2 reported mixed results, and 4 felt that the program interventions were unsuccessful. ... All studies that reported success in bringing about conceptual change included opportunities for individual or collaborative analysis and reflection."
8   - *The voice of the student teachers*: "When students were supported by program, peers, and classroom situations, and where deliberative exploration and reflection were encouraged, we saw the flowering of empowered teachers."
           - *Areas of omission and prospects for research*: knowledge and its use in teacher education; the importance and role of the faculty supervisor and the cooperating teacher
9   - Discussion and conclusions
           -research with a view to informing our practice: found much variation; usefulness may be in using as case studies. teach
           - pitfalls have been noted; the emerging conceptual frame around the notion of constructivism provides a positive feature of this research
           - another positive side of this research - the fact that it was being done by people who were 'close to the action'. [It] brings a price: inconsistency of design and data collection. ... "Because the research is taking place in a diversity of contexts, we would expect a diversity of research goals, designs and outcomes. Perhaps it is time we begin to recognize this as a strength."

13   - Table 1: Basic Information Table about the Studies Reviewed. Studies were compared according to:
           - Researchers and Position in Program
           - Participants
           - Study Elements
           - Data Collected
           - Data Presented

17   - Table 2: Objectives and Major Findings from the Research
           - Researcher
           - Objectives of Teacher Education Program
           - Theoretical Orientation of Paper
           - Major Findings/Implications about How People Learn How to Teach

included a bundle of things:
- A Summary and Some Personl Comments by Bernard J. Shapiro, University of Toronto
- Presentation by Dave Marshall
- Appendix A: Background Issues
- Appendix B: Conference Agenda and Participants
- Appendix C: "Professional Development in Other Provinces" by Robert Kymlicka
- Appendix D: Vic Cicci Proposal and Notes from Frank Dillon
- Appendix E: Discussion Group Reports
      (including Diagram of Teachar Continuing Education Advisory Council - TCEAC)
- Appendix F: TECO Recommendations on In-Service
      (Report of the Task Force on TEACHER IN-SERVICE to the Teacher Education Council,
        Ontario)

Sullivan, B. M. *A Legacy for Learners: The Report of the Royal Commission on Education.* British
      Columbia, 1988, pp. 125 - 137.

129 - Researchers informed us, and written submissions reaffirmed, that teachers need to possess a
      blend of academic substance, professional knowledge, cultural perceptiveness, human
      sensitivity, organizational abiltiy, insturctional capability, confidence, and self-awareness.

  - The Commission believes that the establishment of the essential preparatory foundations for
      beginning teachers, as described above, should take at least five years.

131 - Initial Teacher Education: A Shared Responsibility
          - practising profession
          - supervising classroom teachers
          - other faculties at the university "Regrettably, with few exceptions, faculties of
            arts and science do not seem to recognize that they too are fundamentally
            involved in preparing teachers and that it is clearly in their own interest
            and in the interest of scholarship generally to take this responsiblity more
            seriously.
132 - As a result, elementary teachers are virtually excluded from any university-level instruction in
      the sciences. It is simply impossible for them to meet degree requirements in all of the
      disciplines with which they should have a more than casual acquaintance. Faculties of arts
      and science, in fact, generally do not see themselves as instruments for the broad higher
      education of the general student body, including those who may wish to become teachers.
      A radical departure from current practice is thereby required to make the university
      environment more suitable for teacher preparation. The universities need to examine
      possibilities for ensuring closer cooperation among the faculties of arts, science, and
      education with the aim of dsicharging in more effective ways the overall responsibility of
      the university for teacher education.

Watson, Nancy and Patricia Allison. "Faculties of Education in Ontario: Changes and issues."
      Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for the study of Education,
      Ottawa, June, 1993

 1 - Introduction
  - Design Methods
 4 - Admissions
 6 - Program
 9 - Research
12- All faculties are working in various ways to encourage people to become more involved in

research.
- reductions in teaching load for the first year
- provision of computers
- assistance in establising research programs
- Queen's: research start up grant of $8,000
- Toronto: Assoc. Dean for Field Services and Research plus a part-time person to assist with proposals, communicate research information and help build a foundation for research expansion.
- faculties circulate research newsletters
- "[T]eaching or field involvement may be seen as a fruitful source of research projects, and research work as enriching both teaching and partnership with the field."

13 - Partnerships
19 - Conclusion

Levin, Malcolm. "Report on Site Visit to Winnipeg Education Centre, October 31 - November 1, 1991."

very interesting
"WEC Inner City Teacher Education Program is an impressive alternative to mainstream teacher training/education programs..."

Pecujac, Yvonne. "The Future for Teacher Education" *University of Melbourne Gazette* Autumn, 1993

- radical change: 2-year postgraduate Bachelor of Teaching

Edwards, Tony. "Change and Reform in Initial Teacher Education" *National Commission on Education*, NCE BRIEFING NO. 9 (november 1992)

National Commission on Edcuation is an independent commission of inquiry into education and training established by the British Association for the Advancemetn o fScience with the support of the Royal Society, the British Academy and the Fellowhsip of Engineering.

- an examination of the situation in Britain

Lundy, John E. and Denis Lawrence. "Equity in Access to Teacher Education: Issues for Visible Minorities, Physically Challenged and First Nations Candidates". Draft paper presented at CSSHE Conference, Carleton University, June 9-11, 1993

Teacher Training: Mechanisms for Cooperation, Direction generale de la formation et des qualifications, Gouvernement du Quebec Ministere de l'Education, 1992

Gives competency profiles, The Comite d'agrement des porgrammes de formation a l'enseignement, The Comite d'orientation de la formation du personnel enseignant.

Canadian Education Association. *Requirements for Teaching Certificates in Canada*. Toronto, 1993

La vision de l'école catholique
de langue française en Ontario

Lionel Desjarlais

Desjarlais, Lionel.

La vision de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario

This report summarizes a survey of people (parents, teachers, students, trustees and clergy) close to or involved in French-language Catholic education in Ontario. The survey was sent to a random sample of 4,400 persons, and over 2800 responses were received. The questionnaire consisted of 62 possible objectives that people would have for attending or sending their children to these schools. The results demonstrated that the five most important expectations for these schools were: (1) the promotion of French language and culture; (2) the promotion of a sense of responsibility and of human values; (3) the promotion and development of social consciousness; (4) the promotion and development of religious values; and (5) the promotion of a community vision of the school. The author notes that the acquisition of knowledge did not rank highly with questionnaire respondents, and this result is in contrast to those who call for a product-oriented education system with an emphasis on standards and norms.

* * * * *

Ce rapport résume une enquête auprès de personnes (parents, enseignantes et enseignants, conseillères et conseillers scolaires et membres du clergé) proches du système d'éducation catholique de langue française en Ontario ou de personnes qui s'en occupent. On a envoyé un questionnaire au hasard à un échantillon de 4 400 personnes. Plus de 2 800 réponses ont été reçues. Le questionnaire proposait 62 raisons éventuelles pour lesquelles les personnes fréquentaient ces écoles ou y envoyaient leurs enfants. Les réponses ont permis de dégager les cinq grandes attentes suivantes: 1) promotion de la langue et de la culture françaises; 2) promotion d'un sens des responsabilités et des valeurs humaines; 3) promotion du développement de la conscience sociale; 4) promotion du développement de la foi et des valeurs religieuses; 5) et promotion du développement d'un milieu scolaire au service de la personne et de la communauté. L'auteur remarque que l'acquisition des connaissances n'était pas une priorité pour les répondants, et que ces résultats vont à l'encontre de ce que de nombreuse personnes veulent, soit un système d'éducation axé sur les résultats qui mette l'emphase sur les normes.

L'étude dont il sera question dans les pages qui suivront avait pour objectif premier d'identifier le spécifique de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario. Le rapport complet de l'étude témoignera du succès de l'entreprise.

L'originalité de l'étude résidait dans le fait que pour la première fois dans l'histoire des écoles catholiques de langue française en Ontario, ses intervenants, parents, enseignants, étudiants seniors, membres de conseils scolaires et du clergé, se voyaient offrir l'occasion de s'exprimer sur leur vision de l'éducation française et catholique. C'est donc de cette vision qu'il sera question dans le rapport qui suit.

La présentation débutera donc par la réaffirmation du statut constitutionnel et non de privilège ou d'exception dont jouit l'école catholique de langue française, statut qui exige qu'elle soit traitée sur le même pied que toute autre institution scolaire publique de la province.

Suivra, une courte description de la méthodologie de la recherche surtout en ce qui a trait aux caractéristiques qui confèrent à l'étude sa crédibilité comme entreprise scientifique.

Ceci sera suivi par une première analyse des données et quelques brèves conclusions qui s'en dégagent. La section suivante rapportera les résultats de la deuxième analyse qui développera, sous forme de finalités majeures, les éléments de la vision de l'école catholique de langue française telle que perçue et voulue par ses intervenants.

Quelques considérations pertinentes en guise de conclusion viendront terminer le présent rapport.

Une étude de l'envergure et de l'importance de celle poursuivie par la *Commission royale sur l'éducation en Ontario* se doit de prêter une attention particulière au système des écoles catholiques de langue française de la province. Jouissant d'un statut légal fondé sur la constitution canadienne qui lui garantit sa dimension confessionnelle (Art. 93, l'AABN) et sur plusieurs actes juridiques et législatifs, comme, par exemple, le jugement de la Cour d'Appel de l'Ontario sur la gestion,(1984) et les projets de lois 140 et 141,(1969) de l'Ontario qui accordaient un statut légal à la langue française comme langue d'enseignement et une reconnaissance officielle aux écoles secondaires de langue française, les écoles catholiques de langue française font partie intégrante et à part entière du système scolaire provincial.

Elles dispensent actuellement de l'enseignement à plus de 83% des élèves francophones de la province, soit, selon les statistiques du MEO(1992), à 81, 004 élèves, (61 112 élèves à l'élémentaire et 19 892 élèves au secondaire.) Ce chiffre imposant dépasse de beaucoup le nombre total d'élèves de toute la province de l'Ile-du-Prince- Edouard, de celle de Terreneuve et des Territoires pour lesquels un ministère entier est assigné à l'éducation.

Compte tenu donc que l'école catholique de langue française dispense l'éducation à la grande majorité des Franco-Ontariens, il nous paraît raisonnable d'extrapoler les résultats de notre étude (sauf, évidemment, en ce qui concerne la poursuite "officielle" des valeurs religieuses) aux écoles publiques de langue française, lesquelles, rappelons-le, constituent un nouveau venu sur la scène scolaire franco-ontarienne. Si notre étude a pu établir les caractéristiques qui distinguent l'école catholique de l'école publique de langue française en ce que la première trouve sa spécificité dans sa référence implicite ou explicite au message évangélique, il faut reconnaître que les deux composantes ont beaucoup de choses en commun; elles sont dotées d'enseignants formés dans les mêmes institutions, elles sont sujettes aux mêmes exigences ministérielles relativement aux programmes pédagogiques et aux structures administratives, et il n'est pas rare que dans une même famille, les enfants fréquentent l'un et l'autre des deux réseaux.

L'histoire de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario révèle un passé difficile et des acquis durement gagnés. A titre d'exemple, rappelons d'abord le Règlement 17, passé en 1912, qui abolit purement et simplement l'usage du français dans les écoles dites bilingues . Puis, tout le monde se rappelle la grande aggressivité et l'hostilité de la Commission Royale sur l'éducation(1950) mieux connue sous le nom de Hope Commission, (il ne manquait pas de malins pour la qualifier de <<hopeless commission>>) envers le caractère confessionnel des écoles séparées et envers l'usage du français dans les écoles dites alors bilingues. Finalement, on ne peut non plus passer sous silence, l'obstruction systématique exercée par les coreligionnaires de langue anglaise au niveau de la gestion scolaire et ce, encore, malgré la promulgation récente du <u>projet de loi 75.</u>

En dépit de ce passé difficile, l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario a réussi, jusqu'a ces dernières années, à se maintenir et à se développer à l'intérieur d'une société plutôt stable du point de vue de ses aspirations culturelles et confessionnelles . Mais il faut reconnaître que depuis quelques décénnies, la société franco-ontarienne n'a pas été étrangère aux courants de sécularisation et de pluralisme religieux et moral que connaît le monde occidental contemporain. Devant, donc, un contexte socio-religieux caractérisé de plus en plus par l'indifférence religieuse, et devant les changements de fond apportés à la loi scolaire régissant l'enseignement aux francophones surtout, il était devenu urgent·et important de s'interroger sur la vision distincte et spécifique de l'école catholique de langue française contemporaine en Ontario. C'est, donc, précisément cette interrogaton qui a fait l'objet de la présente recherche et qui offrait pour la première fois aux usagers et à la clientèle de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario l'occasion de voir où ils en étaient et où ils voulaient aller, en d'autres mots, de proposer eux-même leur vision d'éducation.

Pour atteindre les résultats que nous visions dans la présente recherche nous avons adopté une méthodologie permettant de relever et d'identifier les perceptions des intervenants de l'école catholique de langue française relativement au mandat de celle-ci dans le monde contemporain.

Pourquoi une méthodologie fondée sur la perception? Sans prétendre résumer la psychologie de la perception en une ou deux phrases, il est bon de rappeler que le comportement humain caractéristique du vécu quotidien est fonction du champ perceptuel d'un individu et que les perceptions qui composent le champ perceptuel exercent une fonction d'organisation des expériences, un aspect qui nous a apparu primordial pour notre étude.

Construction du questionnaire et échantillonnage

Les deux premières tâches qui incombaient aux chercheurs étaient d'abord de construire un instrument qui leur permettrait d'aller chercher chez les intervenants de l'école catholique de langue française les informations qui constitueraient la matière première de l'étude et d'en établir ses qualités métrologiques ou sa crédibilité scientifique.

La deuxième tâche consistait à établir un échantillon représentatif de la clientèle ou des usagers du système des écoles catholiques de langue française en Ontario.

La construction de l'instrument de recherche a été le résultat d'abord de l'analyse de très nombreux documents ayant trait directement ou indirectement à l'éducation catholique et cela dans le but d'en dégager les objectifs exprimés sous une forme ou une autre. Ceci fut suivi de consultations auprès de personnes informées et intéressées. De cette analyse et de ces consultations plus de cent objectifs furent identifiés. Une telle liste, bien sûr, devait être revisée autant pour en éliminer les répétitions que pour en assurer un langage accessible et significatif pour la population visée. Ainsi, après de nombreuses révisions et d'essais expérimentaux auprès de divers groupes de parents, d'enseignants, d'étudiants de l2e et de l3e années, de membres du clergé et de conseillers scolaires, une liste de 62 énoncés d'objectifs fut retenue comme l'instrument de recherche.2

Ce questionnaire de 62 objectifs représentatifs de l'univers possible d'objectifs de l'école catholique de langue française fut ensuite proposé à ses différents intervenants selon le modèle méthodologique adopté. Ainsi, pour chacun des objectifs proposés, les intervenants ont été invités à exprimer leur perception, premièrement de l'importance que l'école lui accorde actuellement et deuxièment, de l'importance que l'école devrait, selon eux, lui attribuer. Leur réponse devait être exprimée sur une échelle graduée (à cinq échelons) de type Likert où les choix allaient <<d'aucune importance>> à <<importance extrème>>.

Comme deuxième tâche préparatoire à l'étude, un échantillon représentatif d'intervenants devait être établi. Les parents, les enseignants et les étudiants ont été rejoints par le truchement d'un échantillon de 65 écoles catholiques, élémentaires et secondaires. choisies de façon aléatoire de la liste officielle des écoles catholiques de langue française de la province. Faisaient partie également de l'échantillon deux autres groupes, soit les conseillers scolaires et les membres francophones du clergé . La participation de ceux-ci fut sollicitée individuellement.

Le *Tableau l* (les divers tableaux se trouvent en appendice) décrit le nombre et le type de récipiendaires du questionnaire et le *Tableau 2* précise le nombre de répondants selon les régions de la province.

On remarquera que la région Nord-ouest, qui compte très peu d'écoles de langue française, est très mal représentée par cet échantillon; seuls quatre conseillers scolaires de cette région ont répondu au questionnaire. En conséquence, il ne fut pas possible d'isoler cette région pour fins d'analyses.

L'étude ce ces deux tableaux permet de conclure que les chercheurs ont rejoint un échantillon représentatif de la population desservie par les écoles catholiques de langue françaises de l'Ontario et que celui-ci est également représentatif des différents groupes d'intervenants et de différentes régions administratives de la province.

De plus, le taux de réponses, qui est globalement de l'ordre de 66,2%, soit 2820 questionnaires des 4260 distribués, permet de croire que l'échantillon est valide et que les conclusions de l'enquête seront donc applicables à l'ensemble de la population visée par l'étude.

Ces deux étapes préliminaires, la construction du questionnaire et la définition de l'échantillon, bien que secondaires en importance à celle de l'analyse et de l'interprétation des données constituent tout de même les fondements de la crédibilité de l'étude.

Analyse des objectifs proposés

Une première analyse des données a permis d'identifier pour chacun des 62 objectifs, l'importance relative accordée par l'école et l'importance relative que l'école devrait accorder selon les perceptions de ses usagers..

Bien qu'offrant des renseignements fort révélateurs, cette analyse, item par item, tire sa valeur surtout du fait qu'elle constitue l'étape préliminaire dans la recherche et la définition du mandat de l'école catholique de langue française tel que perçu par ses intervenants.

Sûrement, elle nous renseigne d'une manière schématique sur les perceptions et les attentes des usagers,(*Tableaux 3 et 4*), sur le niveau de satisfaction par rapport à la poursuite des objectifs,(*Tableau 5*) et sur l'ampleur du consensus qui prévaut au sein de la population relativement à chacun des objectifs proposés,(*Tableau 6*). Egalement, elle permet de comparer les perceptions et les attentes des différents groupes d'intervenants selon le type, l'âge, le sexe, la région d'origine et le niveau de scolarisation des répondants.

Mais vouloir considérer ces objectifs un à un selon l'importance enregistrée, en vue de planifier des réformes ou de nouvelles stratégies pédagogiques serait s'exposer à une approche fragmentaire et morcelée, toujours à recommencer et surtout sujette à des controverses à n'en plus finir sur l'à-propos ou pas de telle ou telle initiative. Les tableaux décrivant le degré de satisfaction et celui du consensus confirment cela. D'ailleurs, les objectifs du questionnaire ne constituaient pas l'univers des objectifs mais simplement un échantillon représentatif de cet univers. Ce qui complique également l'interprétation, c'est qu'il n'est jamais certain que la priorité accordée aux objectifs par l'école ou celle désirée par les intervenants, soit fonction de leur importance intrinsèque ou de l'urgence sociale. Ce n'est pas surprenant, par exemple, par les temps qui courent, que la question de sensibiliser les élèves aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac ait été placée au premier rang des objectifs.

Brièvement, résumons les observations qui se dégagent de cette analyse préliminaire.

De façon globale, les résultats de cette analyse indiqueraient que l'école catholique contemporaine de langue française en Ontario cherche avant tout à valoriser la dimension humaine, personnelle et sociale de l'élève à l'intérieur d'une institution héritière d'une longue tradition de valeurs chrétiennes. (Voir le Tableau 7, en appendice, pour les réponses à la question de savoir pourquoi les parents envoient leurs enfants à une école catholique).

Quand les objectifs sont ordonnés autant selon la perception de l'importance qui leur est attribuée par l'école que par celle de l'importance que l'école devrait leur accorder, ceux qui sont spécifiquement de l'ordre des valeurs chrétiennes, ecclésiales ou de l'éducation de la foi ont tendance à apparaître à la suite de plusieurs objectifs visant la promotion de valeurs humaines. (*Tableau 3 et 4*).

Ceci pourrait être interprété comme un indication que l'école catholique est d'abord UNE école et que c'est sa crédibilité dans le champ des responsabilités humaines qui appuiera auprès de ses usagers le nécessaire témoignage de la foi.

Un haut niveau de satisfaction a été constaté relativement à l'importance que l'école accorde

aux objectifs spécifiquement de l'ordre de l'éducation de la foi. De fait, des seize objectifs caractérisés par le plus haut niveau de satisfaction, quinze sont d'ordre religieux.(Tableau 5). Ceci semble indiquer que l'école s'aquitte bien de ses responsabilités dans ce domaine particulier.

Il s'est aussi dégagé de l'analyse que dans plusieurs cas, il semblait qu'il était plus difficile d'obtenir un consensus autour des objectifs reliés à l'éducation religieuse qu'autour des objectifs ayant trait aux valeurs humaines et sociales.(*Tableau 6*).

En principe, ces deux dernières constatations, <<satisfactio>> et<<consensus>> affecteront certainement la réponse qui devra être donnée aux questions de savoir qu'est-ce qu'il faut enseigner? ou encore qu'est-ce qu'il faut qu'un élève sache à tel ou tel niveau de scolarisation? De nos jours, ces deux questions semblent dominer les préoccupations des soi-disant réformistes. C'est la vieille polarisation: processus-produit qui s'installe de nouveau en éducation, ou encore celle des valeurs instrumentales versus valeurs intrinsèques.

Finalement, l'analyse révéla très peu de différences entre les diverses catégories de répondants relativement à l'importance que l'école attribuait à l'ensemble des objectifs. Des différences plus grandes existaient cependant dans l'expression des attentes

-entre les parents et les élèves,

-entre les enseignants et les élèves et

-entre le clergé et les autres répondants;

-entre les personnes d'âge moyen d'une part et les jeunes(moins de 20 ans) et les personnes plus âgées d'autre part;

-entre les personnes qui ont le plus bas niveau d'instruction etcelles qui ont terminé le collège ou l'université;

-entre les résidents de la région Est et ceux de la région Centre.

Ce qu'il faut noter, c'est le niveau élevé de concordance un peu partout entre les parents et les enseignants. C'est la base même de la réussite de toute entreprise d'éducation.

Par ailleurs, il s'est avéré que les femmes ont des attentes beaucoup plus élevées que les hommes et qu'elles sont beaucoup plus critiques que ces derniers surtout quand il l'agit d'objectifs ayant trait à la formation et au développement de la personnalité

Finalités majeures de l'école catholique de langue française

Bien que l'analyse, objectif par objectif, ait fourni des renseignements pertinents sur les orientations actuelles de l'école catholique française, elle n'en constitue pas la vision. Se donner un projet d'école catholique à partir de cette analyse s'avérerait quasi impossible.

Nous avons donc eu recours à une technique statistique d'analyse, dite d'analyse factorielle qui permet de regrouper les objectifs qui appartiennent à une même famille sémantique et de réaliser des synthèses significatives.

C'est à la suite de cette analyse, que nous avons pu identifier cinq regroupements empiriques d'objectifs pouvant être considérés comme les cinq finalités majeures de l'école catholique de langue française, ou encore, comme la vision que désirent pour ces écoles ses intervenants.

Ce sont, en ordre décroissant d'importance, (voir *Figure l*) les cinq finalités suivantes:
a)   *Promouvoir la langue et la culture françaises.*
b)   *Promouvoir le sens des responsabilités et des valeurs humaines.*
c)   *Promouvoir le développement de la conscience sociale.*
d)   *Promouvoir le développement de la foi et des valeurs religieuses.*
e)   *Promouvoir le développement d'un milieu scolaire au service de la personne et de la communauté.*

L'ensemble de ces cinq finalités constitue la vision de l'école catholique que se sont donnée ses intervenants. C'est cette vision qui assurera l'unité d'orientation du système et le choix des moyens surtout en ce qui a trait à la gérance, au currculum et à la formation des enseignants. C'est elle qui mettra le système à l'abri des approches du genre cataplasme ou des réformes de nature fragmentaire.

a) *La promotion de la langue et de la culture françaises*

L'analyse factorielle nous a permis de constater que les intervenants s'attendent, *en priorité* à ce que l'école française assume une responsabilité importante de l'épanouissement culturel et linguistique, du développement de la fierté d'être Franco-Ontarien et de l'engagement de la jeunesse à défendre les droits linguistiques de la communmauté de langue française. La transmission et la maîtrise des habilétés de communication efficaces en langue française font également partie de ce volet.[3]

Selon la *Figure l*, l'ensemble des répondants perçoit que l'école joue un rôle important dans la promotion de la langue et de la culture française. Sur l00 points on lui accorde une valeur de 80 . On souhaite, cependant, la voir jouer un rôle encore plus important en lui accordant une valeur de 90 points. On demeure donc très exigeant quant à cette finalité. On doit donc affirmer que pour la clientèle des écoles françaises de l'Ontario, la grande priorité c'est le maintien et l'épanouissement de la langue et de la culture françaises. Ils veulent qu'à l'école française, les enfants trouvent une micro-société porteuse d'appuis et de valeurs culturelles et linguistiques qui sont de moins en moins accessibles dans leur milieu socio-géographique.

Faut-il s'étonner que le premier rang ait été attribué ainsi à la promotion de la langue et de la culture françaises? Nous doutons qu'il existe en Amérique du Nord, un autre système scolaire qui accorderait autant de priorité à une telle finalité que ne le fait l'école catholique de langue française.(responsabilité qu'elle partage avec l'école publique de langue française en Ontario.)

Historiquement, l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario s'est constituée gardienne de la langue en offrant à ses élèves un milieu culturel et linguistique unique. Pour plusieurs parents, cette finalité constitue une question de survie culturelle, une valeur stable qu'il faut préserver à tout prix, une valeur qui rallie les membres de la communauté franco-ontarienne. Sans ce lien, qui s'est tellement consolidé au cours des années, l'école catholique de langue française perdrait probablement, aux yeux d'un grand nombre de Franco-Ontariens, sa légitimité et sa raison d'être.

Et c'est ici que se pose la question des conséquences de la présence disproportionnée des non-parlant français dans les écoles françaises sur l'acquisition, le maintien et le développement de la langue chez les francophones. Plusieurs écoles françaises, (environ 15% selon une étude) ont tellement de non-parlant français qui les fréquentent que justement, elles sont en train de perdre cette légitimité. Elles qui sont censées faire échec à l'assimilation en deviennent des sources subtiles mais réelles.

Il est évident que pour assurer à la population franco-ontarienne la possiblité de réaliser pleinement ce volet de sa vision d'éducation, il lui faut le contrôle complet de la gérance de ses institutions et les ressources financières requises. De plus, l'école de langue française ne devrait pas être obligée d'admettre des non-parlant français pour assurer sa viabilité économique. C'est ce qui se produit en plusieurs endroits de la province.

b) *La promotion du sens de la responsabilité et des valeurs humaines*

La deuxième finalité majeure par ordre d'importance, toujours selon les perceptions recueillies, consiste en la promotion du sens des responsabilités et des valeurs humaines. Tous les objectifs faisant partie de cette famille semblent se regrouper autour des concepts de respect de la personne, d'épanouissement de la personnalité, de la santé physique, du sens de la vie, de l'acquisition de connaissances spécifiques et autres concepts du genre. C'est donc à la valorisation de la personne et des objectifs humanisants que les intervenants attachent la plus grande priorité après la poursuite de la finalité culturelle. En accordant à la promotion des valeurs humaines une telle priorité, les intervenants démontrent une grande sensibilité à l'endroit d'un des problèmes majeurs de notre société contemporaine, soit la déshumanisation. Directement, ils affirment que la promotion de la personne humaine demeure la tâche fondamentale de l'éducation. Indirectement,

ils nous rappellent qu'une école ne peut pas être catholique sans être d'abord profondément et authentiquement humaine.

c) *La promotion de la conscience sociale.*

Le troisième volet de la vision se définit comme la promotion de la conscience sociale. Il regroupe les objectifs ayant quelqu'affinité avec la justice, le respect, l'égalité, les défavorisés, la solidarité humaine, la liberté de choix , la famille, le mariage chrétien et même l'innovation pédagogique. Les intervenants attachent beaucoup de valeur à cette troisième dimension d'éducation catholique et française. Force leur est cependant de constater que l'école ne la valorise pas suffisamment. Comme le démontre la Figure 1, l'écart entre l'importance perçue(63.3) et les attentes exprimées(86.7) est le plus considérable.

d) *La promotion des valeurs religieuses.*

C'est au quatrième rang que se sont groupés naturellement les objectifs ayant trait à la promotion du développement de la foi et des valeurs religieuses (*Figure 1*). Il faut dire que plusieurs de ces objectifs se référaient à un catholicisme défini par des pratiques religieuses traditionnelles alors que le catholicisme contemporain se définit surtout par sa référence à l'Evangile du Christ. Il faut savoir lire le message que nous livrent de tels résultats. Les répondants nous ont tout simplement rappelé une dimension fondamentale de l'éducation chrétienne, soit l'humanisation de la personne, condition première et sine qua non de sa divinisation. Cette dimension religieuse et chrétienne de l'éducation vient donner à la vision de l'"école catholique de langue française le sens de la totalité et de l'intégralité. Dans l'actualisation de sa personnalité, l'être humain est en interaction avec quatre régions de l'être, le matériel, le culturel, le social et le religieux. Une éducation qui dans le concret quotidien nierait la promotion de la personne à l'intérieur de l'un ou l'autre de ces milieux ne pourrait prétendre à l'intégralité.

e) *La promotion d'un milieu scolaire au service de la personne et de la communauté*[4]

C'est au cinquième rang que les intervenants ont placé cette finalité qui comporte des éléments d'orientation sociale et professionnelle ainsi que d'éducation permanente. De moins en moins, l'éducation est réservée à un groupe d'âge spécifique. Bien que jugé de moindre importance, les intervenants veulent voir ce volet revêtir une plus grande importance.(voir *Figure 1*).

Ces cinq finalités (*voir la Figure 1*), constituent la vision d'éducation de l'école catholique de langue française telle que la désirent et perçoivent ses intervenants. Nous doutons, par ailleurs, qu'il existe chez les autres partenaires de l'éducation ontarienne une vision aussi précise et aussi représentative des attentes de sa clientèle. C'est à l'intérieur d'une telle vision d'ensemble que la réforme scolaire doit s'insérer sans quoi, l'éparpillement et la fragmentation en résulteront.

Quelques considérations en guise de conclusions

On peut être porté à accorder trop d'importance au rang attribué par les intervenants à chacune des cinq finalités qui à notre sens constituent la vision de l'éducation catholique de langue française (et dans une certaine mesure celle des écoles françaises publiques. pour les raisons données plus haut)

La priorité accordée à l'un ou l'autre des cinq volets de la vision est certes bien significative. Mais, peut-être plus significative encore est la dynamique qui joue au sein des cinq dimensions de la vision et qui les met en relation les unes avec les autres dans la poursuite de la formation intégrale humaine et chrétienne de l'élève.

Il faut noter que l'analyse factorielle qui a permis de dégager cette vision ou ce mandat n'a pas réalisé de regroupements d'objectifs portant exclusivement sur la maîtrise de telle ou telle matière. C'est qu'aux yeux des intervenants et selon leurs perceptions le choix de ce qu'on va enseigner et de comment on va le faire est dicté par la vision qu'on a de la personne et du sens de la vie, ou de la totalité de l'existence.

Nous répétons que pour l'école de langue française ontarienne, la réussite de l'homme, son humanisation, demeure la préoccupation la plus grande de ses intervenants. Elle demeure au centre de la vision perçue et voulue par eux. Evidemment, la motivation qui sous-tend cette

orientation peut varier. C'est le problème du pourquoi. ultime. qui se pose ici.. Or l'Ecole catholique de langue française est plus en mesure, en raison de la conception intégrale qu'elle tient de la personnne, d'aller jusqu'au bout dans sa réponse au pourquoi de l'humanisation, c'est-à-dire, de la fonder sur la dignité et la grandeur incomparables de la personne humaine créée à l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu. Toute activité pédagogique, à quelque niveau de la structure organisationnnelle que ce soit, se doit d'être inspirée par cette vision.

Une dernière question à laquelle la recherche s'est adressée était de savoir pourquoi les parents envoyaient leurs enfants à une école catholique. Les données de réponses à cette question sont présentées dans le *Tableau 7*. Nous constatons que la grande majorité des parents se sont prononcés en faveur de considérations d'ordre religieux.

La tentation qui guette un programme de réformes c'est qu'il s'adresse au <<quoi>> avant de considerer le<<pourquoi>> ou encore , (comme c'est devenu la mode aux yeux de ceux qui versent dans le<<matérialisme didactiqu>>), qu'il vise l'établissement de standards ou de normes, un concept propre aux automobiles et aux refrigérateurs, par exemple, mais ne convenant nullement aux personnes ou, plus grave encore, qu'il se laisse entraîner dans le guete-apens des polarisations comme celle de: <<éducation processu>> versus <<éducation produit>>,[5] ou celle de<<valeurs instrumentale>> versus<<valeurs instrinsèques>> Ce sont des courants qui apparaissent et disparaisssent périodiquement et qui constituent des approches séduisantes mais unidimensionnelles tout de même de l'éducation. On aurait profit d'écouter Teilhard de Chardin qui disait que ce n'était pas le <<comment>> de la création du monde qui le .préoccupait mais bien le <<pourquoi>>.

L'étude que nous avons poursuivie sur la finalité des écoles catholiques de langue française comporte une quantité d'informations qu'il nous était impossible de présenter dans le cadre des contraintes du présent rapport . Nous espérons que les commissaires aient l'occasion d'en prendre connaissance.

Tableau 1

Nombre de questionnaires distribués selon les types de répondants visés

Répondants	Parents	Enseignants	Élèves	Clergé	Conseillers	Total
Total	2604	765	550	200	141	4260

Tableau 2

Nombre de questionnaires reçus selon la provenance et les types de répondants visés

Répondants Régions	Parents	Enseignants	Élèves	Clergé	Conseillers	Omis	Total
Centre	75	79	16	7	15	6	198
Est	600	314	243	66	19	35	1277
Centre-nord	238	114	62	18	19	14	465
Nord-est	333	205	129	26	26	17	736
Nord-ouest	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
Ouest	40	46	31	7	5	8	137
Omis	0	1	0	0	1	1	3
Total	1286	759	481	124	89	81	2820

Tableau 3

Importance des objectifs proposés comme elle est perçue par l'ensemble des répondants

1- Sensibiliser l'élève aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac.
2- Amener l'élève à devenir une personne responsable.
3- Promouvoir l'étude approfondie des mathématiques et des sciences.
4- Rendre l'élève capable de communiquer ses idées et ses sentiments dans une langue française correcte.
5- Inculquer le respect de la propriété publique et privée.
6- Stimuler l'élève à s'identifier avec fierté en toute occasion, comme francophone.
7- Prévoir des célébrations qui permettent à l'élève de vivre au cours de l'année scolaire les temps forts de la liturgie (ex. : Avent, Noël, etc.)
8- Créer une ambiance de fraternité et d'entraide.
9- Promouvoir une bonne santé physique.
10- Promouvoir l'accès à des études postsecondaires.
11- Viser la formation complète de tous les élèves sans distinction.
12- Amener l'élève à connaître et à apprécier l'importance de la famille.
13- Offrir un milieu de formation où l'élève se sent accueilli et accepté pour ce qu'il est.
14- Maintenir et promouvoir un climat propice à l'épanouissement culturel du jeune Franco-Ontarien.
15- Préparer l'élève au monde du travail.
16- Aider l'élève à découvrir un sens à sa vie.
17- Proposer en tout temps un idéal d'excellence à atteindre.
18- Donner l'exemple de l'amour du prochain quelle que soit sa condition.
19- Inculquer à l'élève le goût de l'étude.
20- Veiller à ce que les textes et aides pédagogiques utilisés dans l'enseignement des différentes matières respectent la dignité humaine et les valeurs chrétiennes.
21- Rechercher la collaboration avec la famille dans le processus éducatif.
22- Aider l'élève à acquérir le sentiment de sa valeur propre comme personne et comme chrétien.
23- Dispenser une éducation sexuelle prudente et positive.
24- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes d'écologie régionale et universelle.
25- Encourager le développement le plus complet de tous les talents des élèves.
26- Promouvoir le respect de la vie humaine de la conception à la mort.
27- Former des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et devoirs.
28- Dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux de qualité.
29- Amener l'élève à croître vers une foi d'adulte.
30- Créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement chrétien de l'élève.
31- Être sensible aux conditions de vie particulières des élèves.
32- Développer la capacité de choisir librement en conformité avec sa conscience.
33- Éveiller l'élève au sens de la fraternité humaine et de la solidarité entre les peuples de la terre.
34- Être un milieu qui permet à l'enfant de se développer à son propre rythme.
35- Aider l'élève à se référer aux valeurs chrétiennes dans sa vie de tous les jours.
36- Promouvoir l'utilisation d'approches pédagogiques innovatrices.
37- Former l'élève à prendre des décisions morales selon les enseignements de l'Église.
38- Faire de chaque élève un usager fonctionnel de l'ordinateur.
39- Faire la promotion de la communication entre les enfants et les parents.
40- Avoir à son service des enseignants et des administrateurs qui s'efforcent de vivre les valeurs chrétiennes.
41- Établir et dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux obligatoire.
42- Mettre à la disposition de l'élève un service spécialisé de counselling.
43- Offrir des programmes et des services éducatifs à l'intention de la population adulte (alphabétisation et perfectionnement).

44-   Initier l'élève à la prière personnelle et communautaire.

45-   Favoriser l'utilisation des installations scolaires par la communauté.

46-   Encourager les élèves à s'engager dans tout mouvement ayant pour but la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

47-   Promouvoir chez les élèves un engagement réel auprès des pauvres et des victimes d'injustices sociales.

48-   Aider l'élève à découvrir le sens et le besoin de la pratique religieuse.

49-   Permettre aux élèves d'explorer différents états de vie qui s'offrent à eux.

50-   Susciter chez les élèves une réflexion chrétienne sur les problèmes du monde contemporain.

51-   Mettre sur pied et maintenir un programme d'activités pastorales.

52-   Faire connaître à l'élève la pensée de l'Église dans le domaine de la sexualité humaine.

53-   Amener l'élève à prendre position face aux inégalités sociales et économiques.

54-   Offrir un service d'appui aux membres du personnel qui rencontrent des difficultés dans leur vie personnelle.

55-   Amener l'élève à développer une attitude critique face aux médias d'information.

56-   Aider l'élève à comprendre le sens profond du mariage chrétien.

57-   Être au service de l'Église.

58-   Donner à l'élève des notions fondamentales d'économie personnelle.

59-   Favoriser la participation des enseignant(e)s à des sessions de ressourcement spirituel.

60-   Promouvoir la participation à la vie de la paroisse.

61-   Inculquer à l'élève le respect des croyances et des pratiques religieuses différentes des siennes.

62-   Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes des personnes du troisième âge.

Tableau 4

Importance des objectifs comme elle est souhaitée par l'ensemble des répondants

1- Sensibiliser l'élève aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac.
2- Amener l'élève à devenir une personne responsable.
3- Aider l'élève à découvrir un sens à sa vie.
4- Inculquer le respect de la propriété publique et privée.
5- Préparer l'élève au monde du travail.
6- Rendre l'élève capable de communiquer ses idées et ses sentiments dans une langue française correcte.
7- Amener l'élève à connaître et à apprécier l'importance de la famille.
8- Inculquer à l'élève le goût de l'étude.
9- Offrir un milieu de formation où l'élève se sent accueilli et accepté pour ce qu'il est.
10- Encourager le développement le plus complet de tous les talents des élèves.
11- Donner l'exemple de l'amour du prochain quelle que soit sa condition.
12- Former des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.
13- Stimuler l'élève à s'identifier avec fierté en toute occasion, comme francophone.
14- Dispenser une éducation sexuelle prudente et positive.
15- Promouvoir une bonne santé physique.
16- Promouvoir l'accès à des études postsecondaires.
17- Créer une ambiance de fraternité et d'entraide.
18- Viser la formation complète de tous les élèves sans distinction.
19- Faire la promotion de la communication entre les enfants et les parents.
20- Développer la capacité de choisir librement en conformité avec sa conscience.
21- Mettre à la disposition de l'élève un service spécialisé de counselling.
22- Promouvoir l'étude approfondie des mathématiques et des sciences.
23- Proposer en tout temps un idéal d'excellence à atteindre.
24- Promouvoir le respect de la vie humaine de la conception à la mort.
25- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes d'écologie régionale et universelle.
26- Être sensible aux conditions de vie particulières des élèves.
27- Maintenir et promouvoir un climat propice à l'épanouissement culturel du jeune Franco-Ontarien.
28- Rechercher la collaboration avec la famille dans le processus éducatif.
29- Être un milieu qui permet à l'enfant de se développer à son propre rythme.
30- Aider l'élève à acquérir le sentiment de sa valeur propre comme personne et comme chrétien.
31- Faire de chaque élève un usager fonctionnel de l'ordinateur.
32- Éveiller l'élève au sens de la fraternité humaine et de la solidarité entre les peuples de la terre.
33- Promouvoir chez les élèves un engagement réel auprès des pauvres et des victimes d'injustices sociales.
34- Amener l'élève à croître vers une foi d'adulte.
35- Amener l'élève à prendre position face aux inégalités sociales et économiques.
36- Offrir des programmes et des services éducatifs à l'intention de la population adulte (alphabétisation et perfectionnement).
37- Permettre aux élèves d'explorer différents états de vie qui s'offrent à eux.
38- Prévoir des célébrations qui permettent à l'élève de vivre au cours de l'année scolaire les temps forts de la liturgie (ex. : Avent, Noël, etc.).
39- Veiller à ce que les textes et aides pédagogiques utilisés dans l'enseignement des différentes matières respectent la dignité humaine et les valeurs chrétiennes.
40- Dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux de qualité.
41- Donner à l'élève des notions fondamentales d'économie personnelle.
42- Aider l'élève à comprendre le sens profond du mariage chrétien.

43-   Offrir un service d'appui aux membres du personnel qui rencontrent des difficultés dans leur vie personnelle.

44-   Promouvoir l'utilisation d'approches pédagogiques innovatrices.

45-   Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes des personnes du troisième âge.

46-   Encourager les élèves à s'engager dans tout mouvement ayant pour but la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

47-   Créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement chrétien de l'élève.

48-   Amener l'élève à développer une attitude critique face aux médias d'information.

49-   Former l'élève à prendre des décisions morales selon les enseignements de l'Église.

50-   Aider l'élève à se référer aux valeurs chrétiennes dans sa vie de tous les jours.

51-   Avoir à son service des enseignants et des administrateurs qui s'efforcent de vivre les valeurs chrétiennes.

52-   Favoriser l'utilisation des installations scolaires par la communauté.

53-   Initier l'élève à la prière personnelle et communautaire.

54-   Aider l'élève à découvrir le sens et le besoin de la pratique religieuse.

55-   Inculquer à l'élève le respect des croyances et des pratiques religieuses différentes des siennes.

56-   Susciter chez les élèves une réflexion chrétienne sur les problèmes du monde contemporain.

57-   Faire connaître la pensée de l'Église dans le domaine de la sexualité humaine.

58-   Promouvoir la participation à la vie de la paroisse.

59-   Mettre sur pied et maintenir un programme d'activités pastorales.

60-   Favoriser la participation des enseignant(e)s à des sessions de ressourcement spirituel.

61-   Établir et dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux <u>obligatoire</u>.

62-   Être au service de l'Église.

Tableau 5

**Niveau de satisfaction quant à l'importance accordée aux objectifs,
selon l'ensemble des répondants**

1- Établir et dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux <u>obligatoire</u>.
2- Prévoir des célébrations qui permettent à l'élève de vivre au cours de l'année scolaire les temps forts de la liturgie (ex. : Avent, Noël, etc.).
3- Mettre sur pied et maintenir un programme d'activités pastorales.
4- Être au service de l'Église.
5- Veiller à ce que les textes et aides pédagogiques utilisés dans l'enseignement des différentes matières respectent la dignité humaine et les valeurs chrétiennes.
6- Créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement chrétien de l'élève.
7- Promouvoir l'étude approfondie des mathématiques et des sciences.
8- Favoriser la participation des enseignat(e)s à des sessions de ressourcement spirituel.
9- Faire connaître la pensée de l'Église dans le domaine de la sexualité humaine.
10- Initier l'élève à la prière personnelle et communautaire.
11- Aider l'élève à découvrir le sens et le besoin de la pratique religieuse.
12- Avoir à son service des enseignants et des administrateurs qui témoignent des valeurs chrétiennes.
13- Dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux <u>de qualité</u>.
14- Aider l'élève à se référer aux valeurs chrétiennes dans sa vie de tous les jours.
15- Susciter chez les élèves une réflexion chrétienne sur les problèmes du monde contemporain.
16- Former l'élève à prendre des décisions morales selon les enseignements de l'Église.
17- Favoriser l'utilisation des installations scolaires par la communauté.
18- Promouvoir la participation à la vie de la paroisse.
19- Promouvoir l'utilisation d'approches pédagogiques innovatrices.
20- Créer une ambiance de fraternité et d'entraide.
21- Maintenir et promouvoir un climat propice à l'épanouissement culturel du jeune Franco-Ontarien.
22- Promouvoir l'accès à des études postsecondaires.
23- Stimuler l'élève à s'identifier avec fierté en toute occasion, comme francophone.
24- Amener l'élève à croître vers une foi d'adulte.
25- Viser la formation complète de tous les élèves sans distinction.
26- Aider l'élève à acquérir le sentiment de sa valeur propre comme personne et comme chrétien.
27- Proposer en tout temps un idéal d'excellence à atteindre.
28- Promouvoir une bonne santé physique.
29- Encourager les élèves à s'engager dans tout mouvement ayant pour but la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne.
30- Rechercher la collaboration avec la famille dans le processus éducatif.
31- Rendre l'élève capable de communiquer ses idées et ses sentiments dans une langue française correcte.
32- Sensibiliser l'élève aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac.
33- Offrir des programmes et des services éducatifs à l'intention de la population adulte (alphabétisation et perfectionnement).
34- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes d'écologie régionale et universelle.
35- Promouvoir le respect de la vie humaine de la conception à la mort.
36- Éveiller l'élève au sens de la fraternité humaine et de la solidarité entre les peuples de la terre.
37- Inculquer à l'élève le respect des croyances et des pratiques religieuses différentes des siennes.
38- Inculquer le respect de la propriété publique et privée.
39- Donner l'exemple de l'amour du prochain quelle que soit sa condition.
40- Amener l'élève à devenir une personne responsable.

41-   Permettre aux élèves d'explorer différents états de vie qui s'offrent à eux.
42-   Amener l'élève à développer une attitude critique face aux médias d'information.
43-   Dispenser une éducation sexuelle prudente et positive.
44-   Être sensible aux conditions de vie particulières des élèves.
45-   Faire de chaque élève un usager fonctionnel de l'ordinateur.
46-   Être un milieu qui permet à l'enfant de se développer à son propre rythme.
47-   Amener l'élève à connaître et à apprécier l'importance de la famille.
48-   Offrir un milieu de formation où l'élève se sent accueilli et accepté pour ce qu'il est.
49-   Développer la capacité de choisir librement en conformité avec sa conscience.
50-   Offrir un service d'appui aux membres du personnel qui rencontrent des difficultés dans l eur vie personnelle.
51-   Promouvoir chez les élèves un engagement réel auprès des pauvres et des victimes d'injustices sociales.
52-   Préparer l'élève au monde du travail.
53-   Former des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.
54-   Encourager le développement le plus complet de tous les talents des élèves.
55-   Donner à l'élève des notions fondamentales d'économie personnelle.
56-   Faire la promotion de la communication entre les enfants et les parents.
57-   Amener l'élève à prendre position face aux inégalités sociales et économiques.

58-   Inculquer à l'élève le goût de l'étude.
59-   Aider l'élève à comprendre le sens profond du mariage chrétien.
60-   Aider l'élève à découvrir un sens à sa vie.
61-   Mettre à la disposition de l'élève un service spécialisé de counselling.
62-   Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes des personnes du troisième âge.

Tableau 6

Consensus de l'ensemble des répondants quant à l'importance accordée aux objectifs proposés

1- Promouvoir l'étude approfondie des mathématiques et des sciences.
2- Amener l'élève à devenir une personne responsable.
3- Former des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.
4- Créer une ambiance de fraternité et d'entraide.
5- Proposer en tout temps un idéal d'excellence à atteindre.
6- Favoriser l'utilisation des installations scolaires par la communauté.
7- Permettre aux élèves d'explorer différents états de vie qui s'offrent à eux.
8- Amener l'élève à développer une attitude critique face aux médias d'information.
9- Sensibiliser l'élève aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac.
10- Promouvoir une bonne santé physique.
11- Viser la formation complète de tous les élèves, sans distinction.
12- Promouvoir l'utilisation d'approches pédagogiques innovatrices.
13- Susciter chez les élèves une réflexion chrétienne sur les problèmes du monde contemporain.
14- Amener l'élève à prendre position face aux inégalités sociales et économiques.
15- Veiller à ce que les textes et aides pédagogiques utilisés dans l'enseignement des différentes matières respectent la dignité humaine et les valeurs chrétiennes.
16- Encourager le développement le plus complet de tous les talents des élèves.
17- Donner à l'élève des notions fondamentales d'économie personnelle.
18- Promouvoir l'accès à des études postsecondaires.
19- Aider l'élève à acquérir le sentiment de sa valeur propre comme personne et comme chrétien.
20- Développer la capacité de choisir librement en conformité avec sa conscience.
21- Être un milieu qui permet à l'enfant de se développer à son propre rythme.
22- Rendre l'élève capable de communiquer ses idées et ses sentiments dans une langue française correcte.
23- Maintenir et promouvoir un climat propice à l'épanouissement culturel du jeune Franco-Ontarien.
24- Préparer l'élève au monde du travail.
25- Aider l'élève à découvrir un sens à sa vie.
26- Dispenser une éducation sexuelle prudente et positive.
27- Être sensible aux conditions de vie particulières des élèves.
28- Faire de chaque élève un usager fonctionnel de l'ordinateur.
29- Rechercher la collaboration avec la famille dans le processus éducatif.
30- Inculquer le respect de la propriété publique et privée.
31- Inculquer à l'élève le goût de l'étude.
32- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes d'écologie régionale et universelle.
33- Aider l'élève à se référer aux valeurs chrétiennes dans sa vie de tous les jours.
34- Offrir un milieu de formation où l'élève se sent accueilli et accepté pour ce qu'il est.
35- Éveiller l'élève au sens de la fraternité humaine et de la solidarité entre les peuples de la terre.
36- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes des personnes du troisième âge.
37- Faire la promotion de la communication entre les enfantts et les parents.
38- Amener l'élève à croître vers une foi d'adulte.
39- Créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement chrétien de l'élève.
40- Encourager les élèves à s'engager dans tout mouvement ayant pour but la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne.
41- Promouvoir chez les élèves un engagement réel auprès des pauvres et des victimes d'injustices sociales.
42- Favoriser la participation des enseignant(e)s à des sessions de ressourcement spirituel.
43- Stimuler l'élève à s'identifier avec fierté en toute occasion, comme francophone.
44- Promouvoir le respect de la vie humaine de la conception de la mort.

45-   Promouvoir la participation à la vie de la paroisse.
46-   Amener l'élève à connaître et à apprécier l'importance de la famille.
47-   Donner l'exemple de l'amour du prochain quelle que soit sa condition.
48-   Aider l'élève à découvrir le sens et le besoin de la pratique religieuse.
49-   Être au service de l'Église.
50-   Prévoir des célébrations qui permettent à l'élève de vivre au cours de l'année scolaire les temps forts de la liturgie (ex. : Avent, Noël, etc.).
51-   Offrir des programmes et des services éducatifs à l'intention de la population adulte.
52-   Faire connaître la pensée de l'Église dans le domaine de la sexualité humaine.
53-   Former l'élève à prendre des décisions morales selon les enseignements de l'Église.
54-   Offrir un service d'appui aux membres du personnel qui rencontrent des difficultés dans l eur vie personnelle.
55-   Avoir à son service des enseignants et des administrateurs qui s'efforcent de vivre les valeurs chrétiennes.
56-   Mettre sur pied et maintenir un programme d'activités pastorales.
57-   Inculquer à l'élève le respect des croyances et des pratiques religieuses différentes des siennes.
58-   Mettre à la disposition de l'élève un service spécialisé de counselling.
59-   Initier l'élève à la prière personnelle et communautaire.
60-   Dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux de qualité
61-   Aider l'élève à comprendre le sens profond du mariage chrétien.
62-   Établir et dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux obligatoire.

Tableau 7

Consensus de l'ensemble des répondants quant à l'importance souhaitée des objectifs

1- Amener l'élève à devenir une personne responsable.
2- Inculquer le respect de la propriété publique et privée.
3- Sensibiliser l'élève aux dangers de l'alcool, de la drogue et du tabac.
4- Aider l'élève à découvrir un sens à sa vie.
5- Inculquer à l'élève le goût de l'étude.
6- Offrir un milieu de formation où l'élève se sent accueilli et accepté pour ce qu'il est.
7- Encourager le développement le plus complet de tous les talents des élèves.
8- Préparer l'élève au monde du travail.
9- Former des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.
10- Rendre l'élève capable de communiquer ses idées et ses sentiments dans une langue française correcte.
11- Promouvoir une bonne santé physique.
12- Amener l'élève à connaître et à apprécier l'importance de la famille.
13- Créer une ambiance de fraternité et d'entraide.
14- Être sensible aux conditions de vie particulières des élèves.
15- Être un milieu qui permet à l'enfant de se développer à son propre rythme.
16- Dispenser une éducation sexuelle prudente et positive.
17- Développer la capacité de choisir librement en conformité avec sa conscience.
18- Promouvoir l'étude approfondie des mathématiques et des sciences.
19- Donner l'exemple de l'amour du prochain quelle que soit sa condition.
20- Promouvoir l'accès à des études postsecondaires.
21- Proposer en tout temps un idéal d'excellence à atteindre.
22- Mettre à la disposition de l'élève un service spécialisé de counselling.
23- Viser la formation complète de tous les élèves sans distinction.
24- Faire la promotion de la communication entre les enfants et les parents.
25- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes d'écologie régionale et universelle.
26- Rechercher la collaboration avec la famille dans le processus éducatif.
27- Faire de chaque élève un usager fonctionnel de l'ordinateur.
28- Promouvoir chez les élèves un engagement réel auprès des pauvres et des victimes d'injustices sociales.
29- Donner à l'élève des notions fondamentales d'économie personnelle.
30- Stimuler l'élève à s'identifier avec fierté en toute occasion, comme francophone.
31- Maintenir et promouvoir un climat propice à l'épanouissement culturel du jeune Franco-Ontarien.
32- Amener l'élève à s'impliquer et à prendre position face aux inégalités sociales et économiques.
33- Éveiller l'élève au sens de la fraternité humaine et de la solidarité entre les peuples de la terre.
34- Permettre aux élèves d'explorer différents états de vie qui s'offrent à eux.
35- Promouvoir le respect de la vie humaine de la conception à la mort.
36- Favoriser l'utilisation des installations scolaires par la communauté.
37- Aider l'élève à acquérir le sentiment de sa valeur propre comme personne et comme chrétien.
38- Offrir des programmes et des services éducatifs à l'intention de la population adulte (alphabétisation et perfectionnement).
39- Promouvoir l'utilisation d'approches pédagogiques innovatrices.
40- Sensibiliser l'élève aux problèmes des personnes du troisième âge.
41- Amener l'élève à développer une attitude critique face aux médias d'information.
42- Amener l'élève à croître vers une foi d'adulte.
43- Veiller à ce que les textes et aides pédagogiques utilisés dans l'enseignement des différentes matières respectent la dignité humaine et les valeurs chrétiennes.

44- Encourager les élèves à s'engager dans tout mouvement ayant pour but la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

45- Prévoir des célébrations qui permettent à l'élève de vivre au cours de l'année scolaire les temps forts de la liturgie (ex. : Avent, Noël, etc.).

46- Offrir un service d'appui aux membres du personnel qui rencontrent des difficultés dans l eur vie personnelle.

47- Aider l'élève à se référer aux valeurs chrétiennes dans sa vie de tous les jours.

48- Susciter chez les élèves une réflexion chrétienne sur les problèmes du monde contemporain.

49- Créer un climat favorable à l'épanouissement chrétien de l'élève.

50- Former l'élève à prendre des décisions morales selon les enseignements de l'Église.

51- Inculquer à l'élève le respect des croyances et des pratiques religieuses différentes des siennes.

52- Promouvoir la participation à la vie de la paroisse.

53- Dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux de qualité.

54- Initier l'élève à la prière personnelle et communautaire.

55- Mettre sur pied et maintenir un programme d'activités pastorales.

56- Aider l'élève à comprendre le sens profond du mariage chrétien.

57- Aider l'élève à découvrir le sens et le besoin de la pratique religieuse.

58- Être au service de l'Église.

59- Avoir à son service des enseignants et des administrateurs qui s'efforcent de vivre les valeurs chrétiennes.

60- Favoriser la participation des enseignants à des sessions de ressourcement spirituel.

61- Faire connaître la pensée de l'Église dans le domaine de la sexualité humaine.

62- Établir et dispenser un programme d'enseignement religieux obligatoire.

Tableau 8

Fréquences des raisons invoquées pour inscrire ses enfants à l'école catholique

Raison	Nombre de réponses
L'étude de la doctrine catholique est importante à mes yeux.	1030
Je tiens à vivre avec des gens qui pratiquent la même religion que moi.	105
Je désire profiter des services offerts par l'Église catholique.	106
Je veux que mes enfants fréquentent la même école que les enfants de mes amis.	43
Je tiens à pratiquer la religion de mes ancêtres.	132
Mes enfants ont besoin de la religion pour affronter les difficultés de la vie.	183
C'est l'école la plus proche de la maison.	82
Dans une école catholique, le climat ou l'esprit est meilleur.	79
Je veux que mes enfants reçoivent une formation morale.	43
Ils sont préparés aux sacrements.	4
À cause de l'excellence académique qui y règne.	13
* Pour l'enseignement en langue française.	76
* C'est la seule école disponible en français.	54
* C'est le choix de mon enfant.	8
* Pour les cours offerts.	2
* Il y a plus de discipline.	2
* Je travaille dans ce conseil scolaire.	3

* Réponses fournies par les parents.

References

1 Ce rapport est tiré de L. Desjarlais et P. Michaud, Les objectifs de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario, Conseil de l'éducation catholique pour les francophones de l'Ontario, 1992, 140 pages.

2 Une copie du questionnaire est annexée à ce rapport.

3 Voir à ce sujet les travaux sur la littéracie de D. Masny et et ceux de B. Casabon sur la pédagogie du français

4 Voir: P. Michaud, Rapport d'études des Centres Communautaires en Ontario,1992

5Il est possible que le Rapport Hall-Dennis, salué comme le document du siècle, n'ait pas connu le succès escompté parce que trop polarisé vers la dimension: éducation-processus au lieu de tirer avantage de la complémentarité des deux concepts: procesesus et produit.?

The mandate of French-language Catholic schools
Executive Summary
Lionel Desjarlais, Ph.D.

The following report was derived from a recent study[1], (1992) the aim of which was to identify the distinctive characteristics of Catholic education in the province's French-language schools. The uniqueness of the study resided in the fact that for the first time in the history of the French Catholic schools, its users were given the occasion to say what their vision of education was.

The report noted that the Catholic French-language schools provide education, elementary and secondary, to more than 80% of the francophone school population, meaning approximately 81,000 students. This represents more than the total school population of the provinces of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island and also of the Territories which all have distinct ministries or departments of education.

The legal status of the French-language Catholic schools was also noted in the preface of the Report. They do not exist as an exception or a priviledge but by virtue of the BNA Act, provincial and federal court decisions, and various pieces of provincial legislation, and therefore are unquestionably entitled to the same treatment, financial and otherwise, as are the other components of the province's educational system.

Because of numerous recent changes in school legislation and especially because of the socio-religous context characterized by secularism, religious indifference and moral pluralism, it was felt that the vision of contemporary French-Catholic education had to be reexamined.

Can this study talk for the French-language public schools in the province since no similar study was conducted within that particular component? It is felt that because the Catholic component of French-language schools provides education to a significant majority of francophones, it seems reasonable, (except of course, with respect to the promotion of religious values), to extrapolate, but with caution, the results to public French-language schools which, as we know, are relatively newcomers on the province's educational scene. Both components are subjected to the same ministerial requirements; their teachers are trained in the same institutions, and in many cases, in Ottawa, for example, in the same family some children will attend a French Catholic school while others will attend a French-language public school.

Questionnaire construction and Sampling

Two preliminary but essential tasks to ensure the scientific credibility of the study consisted in the construction of a valid and reliable research instrument, (a copy of which is appended to the present report) and the selection of a representative sample of the population studied, i.e., the French-language Catholic schools' clientele, parents, teachers, senior students, (grades 12 and 13) trustees and clergy.

The final questionnaire proposed 62 objectives considered as a reasonable sample of the universe of objectives.
The task required on the part of the respondents was to indicate the level of importance that they perceived the school attached to each objective,(perceived importance) and the level of importance that they felt the school should attach,(expectations, desired importance).

It was sent to 4,400 people,(parents, teachers, students, trustees and clergy) selected at random in all regions of the province. More than 2,800 people responded. The representativeness of the responses was seen to be satisfactory as was the rate of response, 66.2%..

Initial analysis of data

The first analysis, item by item, was meant to investigate the perceptions and the expectations with respect to each of the 62 objectives. It also dealt with the level of satisfaction and of consensus relative to each of the 62 objectives. The concept of satisfaction was defined as the difference between

perceived importance and desired importance, (expectations on the part of the users). It was also possible to compare the perceptions of the various groups of respondents: parents, teachers, senior students, school trustees and clergy. Regions, level of education and sex of respondents were additional variables dealt with in the analysis.

The perception of the relative importance French-language catholic schools give to each of the 62 objectives is presented in Table l.

The interpretation of the results are not always simple, since urgency make take precedence over importance or valueing. A case in point is the first ranking given to the item concerned with making the students aware of the dangers of alcohol, drugs, and tobacco and the last to making the students sensitive to the problems of aging. In general, objectives relating to the faith education follow in importance those that relate to human values. This can be interpreted as an indication in the eyes of the users that French-language schools are *first of all*, schools and that their credibility in the area of human responsibilities serves to strengthen the promotion of religious values.

Although this first analysis was very revealing, it's main value consisted in its being the essential and preliminary step to a second analysis leading to the more significant definition and delineation of the French-language Catholic school's vision of education as perceived by its users.

Nevertheless, this first analysis allows for the following observations.

a) The French-language Catholic schools are perceived as respectful of the person. They are influenced by both humanistic contemporary values and christian values. This second observation was also confirmed by the reasons given by parents for sending their children to a Catholic school.

b)The little difference between the perceived importance and expected importance with respect to objectives relating to the religious aspects leads one to believe the users of the system are relatively satisfied with the way the schools are fulfilling their obligation in regards to religious education.

c)The level of consensus varies considerably from one objective to another.

d)When considering responses in terms of the five categories of respondents, it was noted that the perceptions and opinions of parents and teachers generally coincided. This convergence is basic to the success of the educational endeavour as research has demonstrated numerous times. It was also significant to note that in general women were more exacting then men in their expectations, especially in areas related to personal growth.

The Major goals of French-language Catholic Schools

In view of obtaining a more coherent and unified picture of what could be called the major goals of the French-language Catholic Schools in Ontario and to significantly achieve a synthesis amongst the 62 objectives, a factor analysis was applied to the data.. Through this analysis, the 62 objectives were regrouped into five major goals of French-language Catholic education that, in the eyes of the respondents, should dictate the substance and the means of education. Since each factor has regrouped a different number of objectives, they were converted to a l00 point scale in order to judge their relative importance. *Figure l* illustrates the relative importance of the perceived and expected goals yielded by the factor analysis. They are presented in order of decreasing importance.

1   The promotion of French-language and culture.
2   The promotion of a sense of responsibility and of human values.
3   The promotion and development of social consciousness.
4   The promotion and development of religious values.
5   The promotion of a community vision of the school.

In the first instance, it is clear that the users of the system expect the school to honor its committment in every way possible to *the preservation and development of the French language and culture.* When Franco-Ontarians will no longer find this guarantee, they will question their loyalty to the Catholic School system. There is no doubt that the users of the system have shown that the greatest priority is to be directed to this goal. It is also evident that the goal implies complete control over the management of the structural, organizational, and pedagogical aspects of education.(parenthetically, Bill 75 is not working).

The development of a sense of responsability and of human values. Practically all the objectives that came under this heading as a result of the factor analysis relate to such concepts as respect for the person, personality development, meaning of life, self-concept, acquisition of knowledge and physical health. In their vision of catholic education, Franco-Ontarians hold this major goal second in importance. The message is clear, a school can not be catholic without first being profoundly and authentically human.

The third major goal defines the vision in terms of the *promotion and development of social consciousness..* Included here are such concepts as social justice, rights, equality, human solidarity, freedom of choice, etc. Upon examining Figure 1, it becomes obvious that the respondents feel the schools are remiss in this area.

The fourth major goal brings together naturally those objectives that are related to the *development of the students' faith and commitment to religious values.* The weighting of this factor allows us to observe that this regrouping of objectives is perceived at present as the third most valued family of objectives by the school (See Figure 1) but more emphasis should be placed upon its promotion and development. The religious dimension of education is what brings to the vision of French-language Catholic education its sense of totality, its wholeness. It becomes inconceivable that an educational system pretend to "wholenss" if it has no place for religious and moral formation . Human values and religious values constitute an integral part of the vision of French-language Catholic Schools.

The *promotion of a community vision of the school* becomes the fifth dimension of the French-language Catholic schools.. It is mostly concerned with the environment. Although it is judged to be of lesser importance than the previous goals, it is yet an essential component of the philosophy of the French-language Catholic schools.

These five major educational goals readily describe how the users of the French-language Catholic schools, in keeping with their cultural background, envision education; how they want it to be. It is true that the ranking of the goals may appear highly significant to many. It is, one must remember, a statistical artifact. What is even more important are the dynamics that interplay within these five major components thus giving them new meaning through new and constantly evolving interrelationships.

It is to be noted that the factor analysis did not regroup as a significant family those objectives that were aimed at the acquisition of knowledge. Is it not because in the eyes of the respondents the "what " and the "how" of teaching is to be dictated by the vision that one has of man and of the totality of existence.? The end dictates the means, otherwise fragmentation results. It seems that contemporary educational reformers have been caught up in the process-product polarization and that they have opted generally for solutions based upon the product. dimension. ...This can only lead to fragmentation and eventually failure in the pursuit of educational ideals planned to bring to the educand a strong sense of life's meaning and to assist him or her in the development of an integrated personality. One has only to reflect back to the Hall-Dennis Report. which at the time was heralded as one of the greatest breakthroughs in modern education. And indeed it was. But, unfortunately, it's philosophy originated in the process end of the continuum process-product.. It was predominantly process oriented , i.e., what happened to the learner while he or she was learning was more important than what was to be learned. At present, establishing standards and norms seems to be the thing in our competitive society. Should we be reminded that standards whilst applicable to refrigerators and automobiles are hardly suitable to human beings ?
It is hoped that the Commissioners will have the opportunity to read the French report and also the complete report on which this presentation is based.

<div style="text-align:center">January 20th 1994</div>

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1 L. Desjarlais and P. Michaud, Les objectifs de l'école catholique de langue française en Ontario., Ottawa, CECFO, 1992, 140 pages.

The Policy and Practice of School-based Interagency Collaboration

Hanne B. Mawhinney

May 1994

Mawhinney, Hanne B.

The Policy and Practice of School-based Interagency Collaboration, **May 1994**
(Politiques et pratiques en matière de collaboration entre agences en milieu scolaire), **mai 1994**

In this paper, Mawhinney explores new approaches to meeting the needs of Ontario's students and their families through increasing school board collaboration with other social service providers. It is becoming well recognized that the education system alone has neither the ability nor political clout to address the full range of children's problems. She investigates the reasons for such collaboration, the experiences of other jurisdictions, the situation particular to Ontario, questions of design, implementation and evaluation of the different models, and some policy directions, guidelines for practice, and recommendations for policy making for school-based interagency collaboration.

After an examination of the reasons for collaboration, the constraints found in Ontario, and what is occurring in other jurisdictions, she makes twelve recommendations based on these findings. She points out that research has shown that collaborations depend largely on human factors. "Collaborative efforts will only work if people are willing to cooperative and if there is leadership for them to do so" (p.40). Her conclusion emphasizes that any reforms must not lose sight of the underlying impacts of poverty and the changing social context of the family. Collaborations of education and social agencies must fulfill the normative goal of enhancing the life changes of children, youth, and their families.

* * * * *

Dans ce document, Madame Mawhinney explore les nouvelles méthodes permettant de répondre aux besoins des élèves de l'Ontario par le biais d'une collaboration accrue entre les conseils scolaires et les prestataires de services sociaux. C'est un fait bien reconnu que le système scolaire ne peut pas à lui seul résoudre tous les problèmes des élèves, pas plus qu'il n'a le pouvoir politique de le faire. Elle examine le pourquoi de cette collaboration, les expériences d'autres compétences, la situation particulière de l'Ontario, les problèmes de conception, de mise en oeuvre et d'évaluation des différents modèles, certaines orientations en matière de politiques, lignes directrices pratiques et recommandations en vue de l'élaboration de politiques de collaboration entre organismes situés en milieu scolaire.

Après avoir étudié les motifs de collaboration, les contraintes propres à l'Ontario et les expériences d'autres compétences, elle propose douze recommandations fondées sur ces constatations. Elle remarque que la recherche a démontré que la collaboration dépend en grande partie de facteurs humains. «Les efforts de collaboration ne porteront fruit que si les gens sont disposés à collaborer et s'il existe un engagement à ce propos» (p.40). Dans sa conclusion, elle insiste sur le fait que toute réforme ne doit pas perdre de vue l'impact sous-jacent de la pauvreté et le contexte social de la famille en pleine évolution. Les efforts de collaboration entre le monde de l'éducation et les organismes sociaux doivent répondre à l'objectif normatif qui consiste à améliorer l'existence des enfants, des jeunes et de leurs familles.

CONTENTS

1.0 BACKGROUND

Changing social conditions in Canada have stressed the capacity of many families to meet the needs of their children. The rapidity and growing impact on children and youth of these changes underlines the need to rethink the way the current system of supports and services has been organized. Despite the creation of complex networks of agencies providing children's services, a gap has grown between the needs of children and the systems in place to meet those needs (Children First, 1990). There is growing agreement that the poor education, health, and social outcomes for young people result, in part, from the inability of the current service systems to respond in a coordinated and comprehensive fashion to the multiple and interconnected needs of both children and youth. Critics of the American system conclude that the "program mentality" which has pervaded policy making for children's services, has resulted in fragmented responses that ultimately fail (Gardner, 1991). Similarly, social services in Ontario are described as "too fragmented, overspecialized and overburdened, and they have limited outreach capacity and are working in isolation from one another"(Children First, 1990, p. 49).

It is no longer possible to look for the solution to today's problems in past arrangements. There is general agreement that new approaches to meeting the needs of children, youth, and families are required; approaches that foster collaboration and integration of services (Kirst, 1991). It is evident that "schools must adapt to the changes in family structure, values and attitudes and the economy" (Thornburg et al., 1991, p. 207). The growing calls for schools to collaborate with other community service agencies are based on the realization that "the education system alone has neither the ability nor political clout to address the full range of children's problems" (Jehl & Kirst, 1992, p. 97). Many critics share this realization and a number of American states have proposed school-based interagency collaboration as a cornerstone of the systemic reform and restructuring of education (Bruner, 1991; Dryfoos, 1994; Melaville & Blank, 1991). Similarly, the arguments for school-based interagency collaboration currently heard in Ontario must be considered by the Royal Commission of Learning as an element of its recommendations for restructuring education in the province.

2.0 PURPOSE

In many American states and Canadian provinces efforts to foster school-based interagency collaboration are underway, and current research is beginning to accumulate on the approaches that are being developed (Crowson & Boyd, 1993a; Dryfoos, 1994; Guthrie & Guthrie, 1991; Kirst, 1992a,b; Levy & Shepardson, 1992, Mawhinney, 1993b; 1994a). The descriptions of the complexities of collaboration in this research provide important insights into the factors that influence the creation of effective connections in coordinated children's services, and how such connections are established. These and other insights can provide useful background for the deliberations of the Commission on Learning.

My intention in this paper is to consider the policy and administrative requirements to make collaboration happen among schools and other agencies serving children. In addressing the policy and practice of collaboration I will focus on the following questions:

- Why should schools collaborate with other agencies?
- What can be learned from the experiences of collaborations in other provinces and states?
- What are the unique constraints and opportunities for school-based collaboration in Ontario?
- What have we learned about the design, implementation and evaluation of different collaborative models?
- What are some possible policy directions, guidelines for practice, and recommendations for policy making for school-based interagency collaboration?

Throughout my discussion I will draw from my ongoing research on school-based collaborations in several high schools in Ontario, from my analysis of recent policy documents and emerging

collaborative initiatives in Alberta, and from recent research in the United States (Mawhinney, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d, 1994e). I will outline what we have learned about collaboration, what has worked, and what we can learn from failures. This background paper should provide members of the Commission on Learning with a comprehensive framework for considering the policy and practice of school-based interagency collaboration and for preparing recommendations concerning this key element of the systemic reform of Ontario's educational system.

3.0   WHY COLLABORATE?

The rationales used in current policy proposals for schools to collaborate with other agencies serving children and families cluster around two overlapping lines of argument, one concerned with creating equitable opportunities for children and youth living under conditions of risk, and a second focused on economic concerns for ensuring that public service systems are cost efficient and effective. Both lines of argument can be found in proposals for collaboration of services by social reform advocates and by some provincial and state governments. Implicit in these arguments is a belief that the state has some responsibility for ensuring the well-being of children.

3.1   Canadian Social Policy Tradition

In Canada this belief is embedded in a tradition of social welfare which encompasses both income security policies such as social assistance, and a number of social services such as health, education, housing, personal and community services, various allowances including youth allowance and income supplement schemes. The concept of a network of government-supported services for children emerged from the Canadian experiences during the Depression and the Second World War. From these experiences evolved the concept of "a 'safety net' of social services which could 'catch' people whose lives took an unfortunate turn for the worse and help them to get back on their feet" (Children First, 1990, p. 41). As a result of this safety net, in comparison to many areas of the world, most Canadian young people are adequately protected, nurtured and supported by families and community networks and publicly sponsored education, health and social services.

Under the Canadian Constitution most of these services are the primary responsibility of the provincial governments, a system that has produced regional differences in social service systems. The federal government has, however, indirectly contributed to a general shift in thinking about children and youth in Canada. There has been a "move to treat children as rights-bearing persons with individual developmental needs rather than the objects of paternalism" (Children First, 1990, p. 37). Federal level legislation, particularly the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) has focused attention on children's rights.

Another more indirect impetus for provinces to examine the specific needs of children and young people has come from the federal government's support of the initiatives at the United Nations to establish the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In November, 1989 Canada played a lead role in the United Nations General Assembly in ratifying the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention reaffirms the fact that children, because of their vulnerability, need special care and protection. Although it places special emphasis on the primary caring and protective responsibility of the family, it also reaffirms the need for legal and other protection for the child. The Convention charges countries to place special emphasis on the provision of primary and preventative health care, of accessible education, and of social services to enhance the social security of the child. In December 1991, the Canadian parliament ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and set out a policy directive requiring provincial governments to develop plans for the implementation of the Convention. The basic principles of the Convention have provided a guiding framework for changes in children's services that are being developed in a number of provinces.

3.2   Impact of the Changing Context of Canadian Education

The unique provincial patterns of population growth, demographic shifts, urbanization, changing family composition and economic conditions influence the nature of problems faced by families and the needs of youth in the various provinces. The structure of the family is changing, many more marriages are breaking up, the number of single parent families is increasing, and more of these and other families live in poverty now than in past decades. According to Statistics Canada there are now 4.5 million people living in poverty, these are people who spend at least 56% of their income on food, shelter and clothing (Philp, 1994, p. A5). Economic and social conditions, including the changing nature of the work, have forced more families into poverty. In Ontario the decline of the manufacturing sector in the wake of the U.S. free-trade agreement and technological changes have had a profound impact on workers. Where five years ago an unskilled worker could have made up to 14$ an hour, today few make higher than $9 an hour (Philp, 1994, p. A5) Industrial policy analysts believe that the devastation caused by automation in the manufacturing sector that characterized the late 1980s will soon drain the vitality of the previously expanding service sector (York, 1994, p. A6). Social policy analyst Judith Maxwell commenting on this phenomenon observes that "the victims in the slide toward low-paying and temporary jobs are young families, those families with parents under 25 have seen their incomes drop from the 1980s by nearly 20%... [She concluded that] Anyone born after Expo 67 is having a hell of a time getting a start on their life" (Philp, 1994, p. A5).

Analysts agree that the impact of economic restructuring on families has been significant, and is escalating at a rapid rate. They point out that by 1992 about 900,000 Canadian children relied on food banks, compared to 700,000 just a year earlier (Mitchell, 1994, p. A4). A growing number of Canadian critics worry about the impact of these conditions on an increasingly impoverished generation. One recent Ontario study found that "one in every six children is in a family receiving social assistance. About three-quarters of them are children of single-parent families who are in the majority female. Child poverty in Ontario is on the rise standing at 15.3% in 1990"

The Ontario Child Health Study (1990) found that children raised in poverty are 1.7 times more likely to develop psychiatric disorders than children from middle-class families, and 2.1 times more likely to become destructive when they grow up. It is recognized that poor children in Canada are at the greatest risk of experiencing poor health and are over-represented in provincial systems of child and youth welfare, youth correctional and other social services. Canadian studies confirm that growing up disadvantaged in an affluent society often results in a sense of unfairness and "low self-esteem, underachievement, and a debilitating sense of powerlessness" (Public Services to Children, Nov. 1990, p. 59).

Educators are now aware of what has come to be called the 40% factor, the impact of disadvantage on success in school by children. Disadvantaged children are 1.8 times more likely to struggle academically and are more than twice as likely to drop out of school than are those with more financial security (Philp, 1994, p. A5). Once they drop out it is very likely that they will end up on welfare. Research by National Council of Welfare found that 58% of those collecting welfare in 1990 did not finish high school (p. A5). This rate will likely increase because of the decline in low skill high income jobs. Social policy analyst Judith Maxwell concludes that new jobs will require much more education and training, so that " young man who leaves school at age 16 today faces the prospect of a life of pumping gas or flipping hamburgers" (York, 1994, p. A6).

3.3   Ecological Responses to the Changing Needs of Children

Advocates for collaboration now draw from theories of child development that propose "ecological models" of intervention which recognize that such development is a "complex negotiation between external, contextual forces and innate capacities and temperament" (Jacobs & Weiss, 1988, p. 497). Advocates adopting an ecological rationale for collaboration among human service agencies,

including education, argue that such efforts are needed because many of the problems of the poor, "and of high-poverty neighborhoods as a whole, are interrelated and difficult to separate" (Edelman & Radin, 1991, p. 10).

Ecological perspectives on family support and child development have implications for the organization and delivery of children's services (Mawhinney, 1993b). Successful interventions depend upon the capacity for a flexible response by professionals who share understanding of the ecological context of the child. This requires, at the minimum, the coordination of the efforts of professionals providing services for children. Critics argue that although coordination of services may enable more effective service delivery, a more expansive approach requires collaboration "whereby organizations join to create improvements in children's services that are no single agency's responsibility" (Kirst, 1991, p. 617). The term collaboration has been used to describe integrations that result from the "blending of provider disciplines and usually involve several organizations working together in a unified structure" (Morrill, 1992, p. 40).

Ecological theories provide conceptual support for arguments recently put forward by the government of Alberta to enhance such collaboration by integrating the education, health, and social services for children. Alberta recently outlined a direction for interagency collaboration in two policy documents which acknowledge the ecology of children's needs: the Coordination of Services For Children Terms of Reference (1992), and the Alberta Family and Social Services policy document entitled Reshaping Child Welfare (1993). Alberta's policy document outlining the terms of reference for service delivery, notes for example, that "children may have a wide range of needs: physical and mental health, behavioral, learning, developmental or social service related" that cannot be met by families in stress (Coordination of Services For Children Terms of Reference , 1992, p. 1).

3.4   Collaboration as a Response to Gaps and Overlaps in Services

One of the most pervasive arguments made for collaboration is that current systems of service delivery for children and their families are fragmented, while others overlap. In attempting to obtain assistance families often must go from program to program to seek the service required. A recent Alberta policy document states that many services to the province's children and youth in need are "fragmented, often resulting in gaps in some areas and duplication in others" (Coordination of Services For Children Terms of Reference , 1992, p. 1). In addition, the document suggests that some children and families have difficulty accessing mental health services, early intervention programs and health services. Alberta families may face long waiting periods, multiple referrals from one agency or department to another, and duplicate assessments they must go from program to program. There are often multiple points of entry, in schools, hospitals, mental health clinics and treatment centers.

Similar conditions have been documented in Ontario. During the past five years numerous reports on children's services have suggested that the new ways of meeting the needs of children and youth in Ontario must be based on a holistic perspective that integrates a number of services. The Children First (1990) study found that the large system of child and family intervention agencies that focus on the mental health of young people are "overtaxed, and long waiting lists for service inhibit their capacity to provide service" (p. 44). The study concluded that the continued demands for these services are greater than the system's capacity to respond using current methods of service delivery. . .[and as a result] the challenge to the system is to develop new ways to meet the mental health needs of children and to target more effectively the use of the limited resource of trained professionals within the system to meet the needs of children with serious difficulties. (p. 45).

Arguments for collaboration found in many proposals cluster around the need to design new service delivery systems to replace the inefficient, inflexible, inaccessible and ineffective systems currently in place. An economic rationale for collaboration is implied in these arguments. For example

Alberta's recent policy proposal argues, for example, that coordination of services for children is important because of the increasingly need to maximize resources and to share responsibilities for meeting the needs of children and families (Coordination of Services For Children Terms of Reference , 1992). This policy views coordination as a means of providing more efficient, flexible, accessible and effective services for children and families.

Concerns for efficiency have been given impetus by economic conditions in both Ontario and Alberta. Despite their significant ideological differences, the New Democratic government of Ontario and the Conservative government of Alberta both recognize that difficult economic conditions require restructuring of social service delivery systems. A 1992 Ontario government policy fact sheet on integrated services for children and youth states, for example, "with fewer public resources, governments must ensure that public moneys assist clients effectively and that services work together in a concerted fashion."

3.5. Rationale for Collaboration Summarized

Collaboration, in short, has come to be seen as a solution to the need for more holistic approaches to meeting the ecology of changing needs of children and youth, and to meeting the need to provide more efficient, flexible, accessible and effective services for them and their families. Governments have responded to economic and demographic pressures by supporting a number of initiatives that attempt to meet the needs of young people though various forms of collaborative service delivery. Most of the initiatives are recent undertakings, many are either just being developed or they are in the early stages of implementation. As the following section of this paper suggests Ontario's system like others, has been influenced by the unique needs of children and families in the province, and by the constraints created by existing service delivery systems.

4.0 CONSTRAINTS TO SCHOOL-BASED INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION IN ONTARIO

Ontario researchers, community groups, and policy makers and analysts have for a number of years documented the need to re-examine the traditional forms of school-community links in the province. Critics of Ontario's educational system argue, for example, that statistics such as those cited in the Ontario Child Health Study (1990) are a sign of the failure of the school system to meet the needs of "at risk" youths. This criticism was also made by the Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education, and the Issue of Dropouts (Radwanski, 1987), which found a strong link between the socio-economic status of the student's family and the likelihood of the student dropping out. Family poverty was also found to be linked to student placement in general or basic level secondary school programs rather than in advanced programs. The difference reported in dropout rates between the advanced and the general/basic programs is striking. In the 1980s Ontario students in the advanced program had a 12 per cent dropout rate, while the rates for students taking general and basic-level courses had respectively 62 and 79 per cent.

4.1 The Development of Ontario's Network of Social Service Agencies

Although it is clear that the educational system is implicated in poor student outcomes, there is also general agreement that the vulnerable state of families places additional demands on schools, demands that educators are not appropriately trained to provide. Teachers are not trained to provide counseling, health and other social services for needy children, and, in the past, they have not been required to do so. In fact, during the past three decades these types of social services came to be provided by an increasingly complex and loosely linked network of agencies in Ontario. During the 1950s and 1960s Ontario's economic growth and expanding tax base led to the expansion of a range of social services for children and families. Schools were built and community and social services expanded as new programs were created. As a result of the postwar expansion services for children and youth grew more complex and specialized and led to the proliferation of agencies that

are loosely linked to the Ministries of: Education and Training, Health, Community and Social Services, Correctional Services, Tourism and Recreation and others.

4.1.1 Educational Services

The specialized programs in education, health, recreation and community services that were developed by these Ministries have been associated with increasing costs. The education system, for example, represents a major provincial and local expenditure in Ontario ($9.7 billion in 1989). School boards in Canada are empowered to set local tax rates apart from other municipal bodies. This system of taxation is used to support a system of local school boards that has not changed substantially since the mid-nineteenth century, although these boards were consolidated into larger jurisdictions in 1969. Consolidation did not affect the guarantees of the right to educational self governance made to Roman Catholics in the province at the time of Confederation in 1867. These guarantees have resulted in parallel public and Roman Catholic school systems in the province. More recent guarantees to the minority francophone population of the right to French-language education and to governance of that education in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) have resulted in a third separate system of education in the province. These three systems operating simultaneously have further fragmented the delivery of services for young people in many communities.

This system has, however, not gone entirely unchallenged. In 1974 a Select Committee, formed of elected members of the provincial parliament, conducted extensive consultations throughout the province that resulted in recommendations for substantial changes to the educational system. The Committee's report called for power to be divested from the provincial Ministry of Education and from local school boards. Instead local "Community Action Councils" were to become the decision making bodies, focused on meeting a broad range of community needs beyond those for formal education. School facilities were to be opened to the use of the larger community and education was to be freed from the monopoly of teachers. The Minister of Education of the day rejected the committee's "subordination of education to social development" (Townsend, 1980, p. 495). The Committee's proposals for an open educational system were, however, adapted by the Minister through policies which promoted opening the doors to day care services within schools, and to opening school facilities for use by other community organizations. Other recommendations relating to integrating handicapped children into mainstream schools were also adopted.

4.1.2. Health and Recreational Services

Services for children and youth also consume a substantial portion of the $15 billion spent in 1990 on health services in Ontario. The Ministry of Health has recently adopted public health goals which directly target young people for specific prevention programs. The Ministry also supports local public health units, although the level of these services varies across the province, as does the emphasis on child/youth related issues. Health programs are driven by the current funding mechanisms which favor institutional health care rather than the more preventative community health promotion. The current delivery of health care in the province is criticized for adopting an identified patient model, rather than being driven by preventative models.

Recreational services are another high cost and specialized set of services for children. It is estimated that about $7.3 billion annually was spent on recreation ($2,300 per family) in 1987. The Advisory Committee on Social Services charges that the recreation system fails to meet the needs of disadvantaged young people and does not acknowledge the changed family realities. Instead the system supports programs geared at middle class families with one stay-at-home parent (Children First, 1990).

4.1.3. Community and Social Services

Perhaps the most loosely linked set of services for children and youth in Ontario are those funded by the Ministry of Community and Social Services. Those services had become so fragmented by the late 1970s that a government review of the children's and youth's services entitled Children's Services: Past, Present, and Future (1980), indicated that the system was so over-specialized and fragmented that there were significant inconsistencies in service delivery. According to the study this led to "some children, especially hard-to-serve children, being bounced around from agency to agency, from program to program" (p. 19).

In an effort to address the fragmentation of services the government created the Children's Services Division within the Ministry of Community and Social Services in 1977. The purpose of the division was to "bring together all programs for children with special needs into one organizational unity within the provincial government. . . [so that] for the first time the services for this group could be brought into focus and dealt with as a whole"(p. 21). In 1985 the government proclaimed the Child and Family Services Act as a means of supporting the organizational consolidation of specialized services for children. The Act consolidated several separate pieces of legislation and identified six service categories including: child development, child treatment, child welfare, community support, young offenders, and child and family intervention. The intent of the legislation was to change a patchwork of services into an integrated network of services for children and youth.

Although the Act is viewed as a landmark piece of legislation for children, it has been criticized falling short of fulfilling its intended purpose of promoting integration. The 1990 report of the Advisory Committee on Children's Services in Ontario, Children First, found that despite the Act, "responsibility for children's services is still diffused, and the system lacks coordination" (p. 43). Moreover during its investigation the Committee found evidence that the traditional "safety net of services is under stress, as the current structures and modes of functioning fail to adequately address changing social realities" (p. 43). Currently the basic framework for children's social services consists of three major streams: young offenders, children in need of protection, and families in need of assistance.

The 1984 federal Young Offenders Act established a new legislative framework for young people under 18 years of age. Under this framework children aged 12 to 15 are provided services by the Ministry of Community and Social Services, and services for 16 to 17 year olds are provided by the Ministry of Correctional Services. These divisions of responsibility have led to confusion and inequity. Some charge that youths are treated too leniently, others suggest the system is too punishment oriented, lacking a rehabilitative focus. The system is crowded with a backlog of cases waiting to be heard and treatment services are overloaded. The Children First report charges that many of the youths have emotional/behavioural problems yet entrance into the young offenders system makes it "even less likely that they will get the intervention they need in the future" (p. 46).

The child welfare system, the second major stream within children's social services, has also been criticized. Critics charge that this system tends to focus on crisis intervention, failing to adequately provide preventative measures because the structure of the service system has not been modified. In Ontario responsibilities for children in need of protection rest with Child and Family Service Societies throughout the province. The current mandates of these societies reflects a shift away from coercive forms of intervention such as the immediate removal of the child or the youth from the family. Nevertheless, workers in the child welfare system are encountering increasing difficulty in finding appropriate residential and foster placements for troubled youths. The large system of child and family intervention agencies that focus on the mental health of young people in the province provide mental health treatment and interventions ranging from outreach and prevention programs to day treatment and residential treatment programs. The Children First study found that these services are "overtaxed, and long waiting lists for service inhibit their capacity to provide service" (p. 44). The study concludes that the continued demands for these services are greater than the

system's capacity to respond using current methods of service delivery. . .[and as a result] the challenge to the system is to develop new ways to meet the mental health needs of children and to target more effectively the use of the limited resource of trained professionals within the system to meet the needs of children with serious difficulties. (p. 45)

4.2   Creating Opportunities for Collaboration in Ontario

During the past five years numerous reports on children's services have suggested that the new ways of meeting the needs of children and youth in Ontario must be based on a holistic perspective that integrates a number of services. The Ontario Advisory Committee on Children's Services argued, for example, that new social and economic realities mean that different kinds of supports are needed for children, youth and families. The report of the committee, Children First (1990) charges that "the wide acceptance of the myth of the traditional family has inhibited the development of a broader network of supports to assist families that are experiencing difficulties as they strive to meet the needs of their children" (p. 11). The vulnerable state of families has led to recommendations such as those made in a recent federal government report on child sexual abuse that stated:

Above all, it is essential that we consider how to overhaul systems and priorities so that children receive comprehensive and integrated service, irrespective of jurisdictional boundaries and resource limitations (Rogers, 1990, p. 25)

Similarly the authors of the Ontario Child Health Study (1990) argue that the Ministries must "overcome their jurisdictional and funding boundaries and cooperate in prevention and intervention" (p. iv). One of the key recommendations of the Children First report is that "the provincial government should promote models of service integration and collaboration that simplify access to service and rationalize the roles of our limited resource of trained specialized service providers" (p. 56).

The recommendations for increased collaboration by the recent reports on services for children and youth in the province cited in the preceding discussion have had an impact on the policies of the current government of Ontario. The idea of integration is congruent with the philosophy of the community activism and the social democratic philosophy of the New Democratic Party (NDP) which forms the current government of Ontario. The severe economic constraints brought about by the current recession has also provided an impetus for the government to provide policy direction to encourage collaboration among children's and youths services.

4.2.1. Long-Term Collaborative Efforts

The government has responded to these pressures by supporting number of initiatives that attempt to meet the needs of young people though various forms of collaborative service delivery. These initiatives vary in the degree to which they are based on collaborations among provincial Ministries such as Education and Training, Health, Community and Social Services, and other Ministries whose mandates include services for children and youth. The initiatives also vary in the degree of integration they promote among local-level agencies. Some initiatives for integration were in place when the current NDP government took office. For example, the Ministry of Education and Training has, for the past five years, provided funding to construct child care facilities for non-profit child care centers as part of every new or replacement elementary school offering primary and junior programs that is built with provincial funds. The Ministries of Education and Training and Community and Social Services collaborate to address other child care issues in the province. Other provincially funded programs have involved long term collaborations among Ministries. For example, the Home Care Program of the Ministry of Health is responsible for assessing student needs, and for providing specialized services at the request of a school board. Still other collaborations among the Ministries of Community and Social Services, Education and Training, and Health provide educational programs and treatment services for students who have been admitted to care and treatment facilities.

4.2.2. Potential Influences on Policy Change

All the initiatives to promote collaboration are influenced by politically-determined reorganizations of the Ministries such as the recent amalgamation of the former Ministry of Education with the Ministry of Colleges and Universities to form the new Ministry of Education and Training. Ultimately the collaborative initiatives will also influenced by the recommendations of three important policy advisory bodies. At the most senior level the government formed the Premier's Council on Health, Well-being and Social Justice to act as a senior policy advisory body on current social issues. Another policy advisory body, the Fair Tax Commission, created in 1991, is studying how to design and implement a fairer and more equitable tax system in Ontario. A second committee, the Provincial-Local Relations Project, informally called the "disentanglement" initiative, was also established in 1991. Its goal is to "clarify and realign provincial and municipal roles and responsibilities in order to increase accountability, reduce duplication and provide better government." These committees have the potential to significantly influence the organization and funding of services for children and youth, the two central dimensions of service delivery systems that must be altered for substantial integration to occur.

More directly the recommendations contained in the Children First (1990) report, although not formally adopted as policy, have, nevertheless, provided guidance for the initiatives currently being developed and implemented by the government of Ontario. One of the key recommendations of the Children First report was that:

Government must become the leading partner in creating a public agenda for children and in establishing an integrated framework that ensures that the entitlements of children are met through a holistic system of supports and services. (p. 107)

Children's services in Ontario have traditionally been provided by several provincial Ministries, hundreds of local authorities and over a thousand agencies, but with no governing framework to foster integration. The resulting multiple lines of accountability among local service providers are a major impediment to service integration at the local level in the province. Voluntary collaborations have occurred but have "historically run into obstacles of protected turfs, conflicting values and confused accountabilities" (Children First, 1990, p. 115). To overcome the constraints to collaboration created by these conditions, the Children First report proposed that a single children's authority be created in the provincial government to integrate "responsibility for all major legislation, strategic planning, policy and program development, and funding of services for children" (p. 115). The report also recommended that local-level children's authorities be created to complement the provincial children's authority.

4.2.3. A Johnny Appleseed Approach to Changing Systems

The government of Ontario has, so far, not created a provincial children's authority such as that proposed in the Children First report. Although it did support the spirit of the report by establishing in 1990 the Interministerial Committee on Services for Children and Youth, comprised of assistant deputy ministers and representative from a nine key Ministries and several other special policy groups The initial mandate of the Committee to guide the integration of policies, programs and services to facilitate the healthy development of children, youth and families, has, however, not produced significant systemic change in the delivery of educational services. Indeed the efforts made by the government to foster collaboration can best be described as a "Johnny Appleseed approach" of seeding the province with a few pilot projects focused on specific programs involving collaboration (see Mawhinney, 1993a). Critics believe that this approach is not adequate, instead many argue that provincial mandates, requirements and sanctions are required to bring about true system change. The government of Ontario has in the past undertaken significant system change, and may in the future be prepared to do so again. At the present, however, the initiatives to promote collaboration can hardly be viewed as significant attempts to change the system of service delivery

for children and youth in the province.

5.0   ORIENTATIONS TO INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION

Ontario's mixed record of support for school-based interagency collaboration is not unique. Many other provinces and states have been reluctant to undertake the kind of systemic change envisioned in the Children's First Report. At the same time the pressure for models of service coordination continues to grow in both the United States and Canada, and the very diversity of efforts makes their categorization into a limited number of structures and approaches difficult (Crowson & Boyd, 1993b). Moreover, because the current collaborative movement is so new there is really very little evidence that what is being tried is indeed effective. At the same time there is some agreement that provincial policy frameworks and local-level practices can influence the effectiveness of collaborative initiatives. The elements and issues that influence partnership development at each of these levels will be considered next using examples drawn from initiatives underway in Ontario and Alberta and some American states.

5.1   Provincial Policy Frameworks

There is general agreement in current research that the political direction provided by governments, either through their instruments of funding, or through policy directives, play a crucial role in determining the kinds of services will be the focus of collaborative initiatives. Provincial governments make fundamental assumptions in their policy directions on what constitutes an appropriate focus for government service. These assumptions set the direction for the kinds of services that become the focus of collaboration, and the relative degree of involvement of government agencies, non-governmental groups and community groups, and families.

5.1.1. Full-Service Approaches to Integration

Some policy proposals adopt a model of collaboration that emphasizes a full-service approach to integration of education, health, and community services (see the Ontario report Children First, 1992). The rationale adopted in these models of collaboration is expressed in the Children First Report:

> Families are the cornerstone of any vision of promoting well-being and healthy development in children. Families must be supported in their task of providing stable care and nurturing. They must have ready access to services. (Summary of the Report, 1990, p. 12).

Implicit in this model is a recognition that all children have basic entitlements to "adequate care so that they may have the chance to realize their potential and develop into healthy, contributing members of society" (p. 12). This conception of child entitlements conveys a sense of a collective social responsibility as illustrated in the proposal that "the value of children must be reflected in the priorities and commitments of all participants in the public, private and voluntary sectors" (p. 7). Mainstream governmental services play a pivotal role in this orientation to collaboration. The Children First report charges, for example, that "education, health, child care and recreation, must be linked to specialized service providers so that mental health treatment, family therapy, crisis intervention and other specialized services can be made available through the mainstream services" (p. 11). This policy framework also incorporates an holistic and developmental interpretation of children's entitlements that acknowledges specific service needs unique to particular age groups. Full-service schools are commonly viewed as potential hubs for coordinating a service response to needs of pre-parenting, prenatal care, infancy, pre- and early school years, adolescence and the transition to adulthood (Dryfoos, 1994). Services are delivered as needed by families, so, for example, the Children First report urges the government, school boards and other service providers to "institute year-round programming for children in their communities" (p. 15). In sum, this policy orientation to collaboration of children's services assumes that government should become "the leading partner in creating a public agenda for children and in establishing an integrated framework

that ensures that the entitlements of children are met through a holistic system of supports and services" (p. 22).

5.1.2. Restricting Government Involvement in Service Delivery

Other policy proposals for collaboration begin from the opposite set of assumptions that governmental agencies should not be main providers of all children's services. The Conservative government of Alberta has set this direction in a recently announced set of policy directives. The Alberta Family and Social Services 1993 policy document Reshaping Child Welfare is an example of this orientation to collaboration. This policy document states that "in the past, child welfare has taken too much responsibility away from parents, extended families and communities for raising their children. . . [so that] many people have come to expect that government has the primary responsibility for resolving family problems" (p. 39). Government agencies are warned that "they can not use their human and financial resources to replace the roles and responsibilities of parents and extended families" (p. 39). Public agencies should not, according to this directive, be doing what is the responsibility of families. Rather, parents, extended families and communities are held "accountable" for the care of their children (p. 39). As a value for policy this view has found favor with "the powerful advocates of the old-style family who have in recent years argued that taking care of the family is an individual responsibility, and not a collective one" (Mitchell, 1994, p. A4). The Reshaping Child Welfare document reflects the view that providing services that take responsibility away from families is expensive and does not focus on results. Alberta's policy orientation toward a reduced involvement of government in providing services for children and families has produced a different direction in collaboration, one which adopts a community-based model for service delivery. In this decentralized model of service delivery, agencies must collaborate with local communities, who, in turn, are given the responsibility to "integrate and coordinate their efforts" (p. 14). At the same time government agencies are directed to integrate the services that they provide to reduce fragmentation and gaps in services and duplication of structures.

6.0. DIMENSIONS OF POLICIES FOR COLLABORATION

The Ontario and Alberta policy frameworks illustrate that collaboration of services can be promoted from very different perspectives on what constitutes an appropriate degree of governmental involvement in services for children. The Ontario policy proposal places government at the center in developing a comprehensive and integrated system of services for children. In contrast, the Alberta policy directs government agencies to pass on responsibilities for children that they previously assumed to families. Agencies are directed to promote collaboration within communities to help families fulfill these responsibilities and to integrate the remaining services for which they are responsible.

Like current collaboration policy documents in many American states, the Ontario and Alberta documents acknowledge the need for more government promotion of collaboration. State and provincial policies and practices differ, however, in at least four aspects:

> a) the degree to which collaboration is incorporated as a component of systemic policy change;
> b) the policy instruments adopted; and the extent of local governance and empowerment promoted;
> c) the linkages resulting from these policy directions; and
> d) the extent to which administrative requirements for collaboration are fulfilled.

6.1 Systemic Policy Change

The conception of systemic school reform has, during the past two years, emerged as a key policy direction for education in the United States. Influential proponents of this approach, O'Day and Smith (1993), describe systemic reform as changes directed to radically restructuring all components

of the educational system in a manner that will result in a high quality education for all students in all schools. Systemic reform as defined by the American National Governors' Association includes the creation of national standards, curricular frameworks, renewed emphasis on accountability and assessment, and the development of interagency collaborations to meet the needs of children and youth (National Governors' Association, 1991). Systemic reform requires linkages between school structures including financing systems and community services dealing with health, welfare, juvenile justice, social and rehabilitation services to provide interagency collaboration (Verstegen, 1994). Research on the service delivery systems for needy families and children in the United States confirms the lack of coordination of the multiple agencies involved whose eligibility requirements and guidelines are often separate, and whose funding streams and accountability mechanisms also differ (Kirst, 1992). To overcome this fragmentation some American critics have outlined the systemic reforms required to reorient systems away from narrow dimensions of single agency mandates to a focus on creating a "seamless web of services" (Verstegen, 1994). Systemic change, according to some proponents, would begin by assessments of the needs of families and children to determine the agencies from which they are receiving services in order to develop a basis for collaborative initiatives. This proposal would establish a menu of core services and a variety of support services that could be chosen during a referral process.

6.1.1. Full-Service Schools

Reformers have suggested a number of more comprehensive approaches to systemic change that would move beyond simple referral of a family from one agency to another (Verstegen, 1994). Proposals include co-locating staff among agencies, and establishing interagency teams from multiple human services agencies and education. One of the most comprehensive proposals is for the creation of full-service schools (Dryfoos, 1994). Various models of these "one stop collaborative institutions" are currently under development in a number of American centers. These models vary in their program orientation, there are, for example, school-based health clinics, youth service centers, family resource centers, full-service schools, wellness centers, student service centers, and community schools. Although they differ in many respects, these programs are all located in or near schools and focus on providing families with access to all types of health and social services. Dryfoos observes that "in practice, 'full service' is defined by the particular community and school, with a mix of services that are needed, feasible to provide in school facilities, and acceptable to the school system and the community" (p. 14). In the United States in the absence of national standards or models, states have developed different variations of school-based service-delivery systems.

The development of models is occurring so rapidly that most researchers agree it is impossible to represent an accurate account of the number of sites of collaboration, or the nature of the orientation which they have adopted. It is often difficult to distinguish between school-based and school-linked models or between centers that provide services on site and those that provide referrals. Dryfoos concludes that in order to promote more "rational planning for service systems in the future" it is important to distinguish between school-based services delivered directly in schools; school-linked integrated services provided in a site near a school but connected through an administrative structure that links service agencies; and community-based services which service as referral points for educators. Some believe that the full-service school represents an ideal model. Florida has promoted this model in legislation which lays out the following definition:

> A full-service school integrates education, medical, social and/or human services that are beneficial to meeting the needs of children and youth and their families on school grounds or in locations which are easily accessible. A full-service school provides the types of . . . services that are high-quality, and comprehensive and are built on interagency partnerships which have evolved from cooperative ventures to intensive collaborative arrangements among state and local and public and private entities. (quoted in Dryfoos, 1994, p. 142)

6.1.2. Limitations of School-Based Models

Few programs in the U.S. currently operate at the level of intensive collaboration proposed in the Florida legislation. Some critics argue, in fact, that school-based models are constrained by their location in providing adequate birth control services, in screening and treating sexually transmitted diseases, in providing substance abuse treatment and mental health services, and in serving the needs of dropouts and other nonstudents. There is general agreement that school-based programs will never be so comprehensive that referral systems will not be required. Nevertheless evidence is beginning to accumulate from the initiatives currently underway confirming the value of these efforts. These studies also suggest that full-service schools will never "go to scale" without systemic changes in funding and accountability at the legislative level. As the following section of this paper suggests, senior governments must use the array of policy instruments at their disposal to promote and sustain collaborative initiatives.

6.2   Policy Instruments to Promote Different Collaborative Models

Because of their constitutional responsibility for education, provincial governments in Canada play a critical role in the development of collaborative initiatives. They have at their disposal four general types of tools to fulfill this leadership role: mandates, inducements, capacity-building and systems changing instruments (Mawhinney, 1990; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). Mandates provide rules or guidelines which require the compliance of agencies to use their existing resources in particular ways. Inducements are transfers of resources to encourage agencies to provide certain services. Capacity-building instruments are often transfers of funds directed toward building the future capacity of agencies to provide services or goods. System-changing instruments involve transfers of official authority among agencies in ways which alter the entire system of service delivery. Changes in authority systems may be accompanied by changes in the distribution of funds.

Research on current state efforts to promote collaboration suggests that policy makers have tended to choose a mix of these instruments. These choices are based on several factors including: the fiscal resources available, the perceived capacity of the targets of the policy to implement, the institutional context defining the structure and function of existing agencies, the degree of political support or opposition, and the history of past policy choices which set the direction for current initiatives (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). The mix of instruments selected to promote collaboration is also based on ideas about the nature of the linkages desired. Current initiatives have focused on developing structural linkages explicitly linking services agencies or systems through the creation of committees. Instrumental linkages are being developed to carry out functions of decisionmaking, funding, accountability, and, of course, service delivery (Pollard et. al., 1994).

6.2.1. American Policy Frameworks

Current studies of the efforts of a number of American states to promote collaboration have found a variety of mixes of policy instruments being used to create different types of linkages among education, health and social services. Arkansas, for example, has created "loose" linkages by using an approach of enhancing the capacity of local communities to establish local "Families First" initiatives. Enabling legislation appropriated limited funds for some communities to hire a local coordinator to coordinate state, local, and federal programs serving families at risk. The Arkansas model does not incorporate system-changing dimensions altering the authority or structure of existing structures. Nor does it include mandates, rather it relies on a capacity-building approach which appears to be creating a loose linkage among education, health, and human services. This initiative does not attempt to encourage a school-based or even a school-linked approach. The funding approach carries a similar rationale, with support being provided to a limited number of communities.

In contrast, Kentucky has incorporated an interagency collaboration component to its massive Education Reform Act of 1990. This legislation establishes "Family Resource" and "Youth Services

Centers" which are intended to enable schools to deal with problems of families and youth. Pollard et al. (1994) found that beginning "in the 1993-1994 school year, 373 school-based or school-linked Centers were receiving state funding to identify and coordinate a range of services in their communities to meet the needs of students and their families" (p. 10). These centers are guided by local advisory committees comprised of representatives of parents, teachers, and community agencies. Kentucky has used system changing policy instruments in promoting this form of collaboration. The state passed legislation which established as one of the goals of the educational system "to reduce the physical and mental barriers to learning" (quoted in Pollard et. al., 1994, p. 11). The state's systems of funding, administration and accountability have been altered to encourage local level collaboration. The Centers are funded through the Department of Education, but they are administered through an agency which regroups all state human services departments. This creates tighter linkages among local level agencies, since funds flow to the local school board, but the Center programs are developed and controlled by the Center advisory body. The state used mandates to prescribe who is involved in decision making, who directs local Centers, and what basic services are provided at each center.

Pollard and her associates at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory suggest that the intention of Kentucky's policy framework "is to develop tight linkages among education, health, and human services systems by transferring authority and funds [and establishing] a statewide framework, defining certain parameters for all localities in the areas of Center concept, clientele, location, decisionmaking, funding, and core services" (p. 13). These researchers conclude that such systemic changes in "how authority and money flows may fairly quickly change agency and community expectations regarding how the schools participate in delivering other public services" (p. 14). The lesson for Canadian policy makers is that policy direction from the provincial level is required to encourage collaborative practices among local-level education and social service agencies.

6.3   Linkages Promoted in Policy Frameworks for Collaboration

Research on current initiatives in the United States underlines that there are substantial differences between states in the degree to which they are willing to subsidize school-based services and the types of programs which they promote at the local level. States differ in the approaches they take toward creating and supporting linkages among education, health, and other human services. In fact, central to any discussion of what it takes to form an interagency collaboration is an examination of the approach taken to linking individuals, services, agencies or systems. Current research on state polices for collaboration suggests that in some cases the linkages being promoted are very loose, often not supported by specific statutes or regulations. In other cases structural linkages in the form of new forms of governance are being promoted. Critics argue that true systemic reform must be based on changing underlying governance structures including the various supporting processes and mechanisms of that structure. Governance implies functions of "decisionmaking, allocation of resources (and/or authority), and their management to render a public good or service" (Pollard et. al., 1994, p. 3).

6.3.1. New Forms of Governance

In Canada there is a growing recognition that new forms of governance to support collaboration are required because existing multiple lines of accountability among service providers are a major impediment to service integration at the local level. Voluntary collaborations have occurred, but have "historically run into obstacles of protected turfs, conflicting values and confused accountabilities." To overcome the constraints to collaboration created by these conditions, Ontario's Children First Report, for example, proposed that a single children's authority be created in the provincial government to integrate "responsibility for all major legislation, strategic planning, policy and program development, and funding of services for children" (p. 115). The report also recommended that local-level children's authorities be created to complement the provincial children's authority.

Ontario has, to date, not created these authorities, and unlike Alberta has not created the position of a Commissioner of Children's Services. Although this position does not reflect a revision of governance structures, the Commissioner of Children's Services for Alberta is mandated to provide leadership to design a more efficient and effective community-based model for service delivery that provides fully integrated supports for children's services. Alberta has also established an Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee with representatives from key agencies to formulate a vision and design a system of inter-departmental and inter-agency coordination of service delivery. This Committee is similar to the Interministerial Committee on Services for Children and Youth established by the government of Ontario in 1990 in response to the Children's First Report. The purpose of the Ontario Committee, also comprised of assistant deputy ministers and representatives from nine key ministries and several other special policy groups, is to guide the integration of policies, programs and services to facilitate the healthy development of children, youth and families.

6.3.2. Effects of Problematic Support

These top-down links are important, however research on the Ontario initiatives suggests that without administrative support, initiatives can drift (Mawhinney, 1993b). For example the work of Ontario's Assistant Deputy Ministers' Committee was initially supported by the creation, in November 1992, of the Integrated Services for Children and Youth Secretariat. By April, 1992 the Secretariat had been disbanded. The individuals who were to provide crucial links among ministries and agencies had been dispersed. The work was picked up informally by another Ministry officer who continued to provide links but had few other policy instruments to draw on. A year later the responsibilities were passed on to yet another individual who had even less memory of the crucial development processes of a number of collaborative initiates. During this period the economic concerns of the government of Ontario increasing took precedence, so that instead of moving toward integrating or even coordinating education, health and social services into a Ministry of the Child and Family, Ontario has integrated the Ministries of Education, Training, and Colleges and Universities. The new Ministry of Education and Training has a strong mandate to promote effective transition from of youth from school to work but has provided less leadership in promoting collaboration.

6.3.3. Effects of Bureaucratic Politics

Research on both the Ontario and Alberta experiences suggests that under conditions of economic restraint provincial policy agendas are particularly subject to discontinuities created by bureaucratic politics within and between agencies. Policy-making bodies such as Alberta's Commissioner of Children's Services and the Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee, which may share the same focus on service coordination, may have different input mechanisms, different lines of accountability and different time lines for implementation. Bodies such as the Commissioner of Children's Services that report to politicians are particularly subject to pressure and manipulation by special interest groups that are viewed as potentially dangerous or of value to the government. The policy recommendations and support for particular forms of collaboration produced by a political agenda may conflict with the approach developed by bureaucratic bodies such as Alberta's Assistant Deputy Ministers Committee. Policy-making bodies, which draw together representatives of different ministries into collaborative initiatives, are also susceptible to problems of turf protection, bargaining and competition, and agenda manipulation. Ministries may bring contradictory agendas to the table, particularly in times of economic restraint when everyone is concerned with staffing and program cuts. Research on the Ontario experience suggests that even when such bodies are established, if accountability for moving the agenda forward is ambiguous, it is likely that policy directions will lose momentum (Mawhinney, 1993b).

These findings are consistent with American studies which suggest that there is a need for provincial/ state policy direction because too many critical issues simply cannot be resolved without greater participation from this level (Crowson & Boyd, 1993a). To date, however, where initiatives are

underway there is a tendency for provinces or states to narrowly limit the scope, financial commitment and time of their involvement. The result is a predictable failure of the agenda for service coordination to produce systemic change. The research described in this paper suggests that this failure is not inevitable. Findings of studies of current collaborative experiments suggest some principles, guidelines, requirements and recommendations. These are outlined in the final section of this paper.

7.0. PRINCIPLES, GUIDELINES, REQUIREMENTS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the well-documented difficulties associated with collaborative initiatives, most researchers believe that interagency partnerships are a potential key to large-scale comprehensive service delivery for at least two reasons. First, they offer the opportunity to bring together a broad range of professional expertise and agency services to benefit children. Second, these initiatives do have the capacity to harness substantial financial resources permanently available within institutional budgets. As a result, they can create the structures and mechanisms needed to coordinate services.

7.1 Principles to Guide the Development of Policies and Practices

Research outlined in previous sections of this paper has suggested some general principles that should be taken into account in designing and implementing policies to promote collaboration, and some guidelines to improve the practice of school-based interagency collaboration. The concluding section of this paper outlines some of these principles and guidelines and concludes by giving some recommendations for provincial policy making on school-based interagency collaboration.

7.1.1. Time Demands

One complex set of issues already discussed in previous sections of this presentation concerns the systemic changes that will be required in schools and other agencies in order for collaboration to become institutionalized. The kinds of systemic changes required are complex, and reflect the principle:
- Developing collaborations is extremely time and energy consuming.

7.1.2. Support for People

Effective school-linked services require that schools and other agencies engage in ongoing processes to identify common goals and plan for the implementation and evaluation of these efforts. Research has documented processes which enable partners to conduct needs assessments and to clarify their goals. Current studies are beginning to identify problems and potential solutions to those problems associated with implementation of collaborative programs. These problems arise because of the principle:
- Collaborations occur among people not institutions. Workers have to be supported at every level that the collaboration is to take place.

There is general agreement that collaboration requires that the roles and responsibilities of selected personnel within the partnering agencies be changed. Teachers, health care, social and community workers associated with the programs will need time, training, and authority to participate effectively. Moreover research confirms the principle that:
- Creative problem-solving skills must be developed in those who are to collaborate.

7.1.3. Focus on Client-Centered Service Delivery

Most systems are not yet willing, or able to undertake the kind of restructuring needed to develop the skills required of the people who are engaged in collaboration. The impetus for systemic reform currently underway in North America does provide direction for the kinds of changes required.

Critics believe, however, that most of the reforms being put in place are too narrowly focused on schools and schooling. Even when collaboration among agencies is incorporated into these reforms, it is often done in ways which do not substantially address the needs of children, youth and their families. This outcome is evident in the principle that::

- Collaboration doesn't ensure the development of a client-centered service delivery system.

Critics now warn policy makers against becoming caught up in overcoming the technical problems associated with collaboration and loosing sight of the central rationale for collaboration. Interagency collaboration and partnerships must result in improved service delivery and must provide direct benefits to children and families as reflected in the principle that:

- Collaboration is a means to an end, not an end it itself, the goal is to improve service delivery.

7.1.4. No Quick Fixes

If this principle is kept in mind then collaboration must also focus on enhancing and strengthening communities. Indeed any projection of the possible future of interagency partnerships must take into account the principle that::

- Collaboration is not a quick fix to severe social problems

These principles, derived from current research on school-based collaboration, provide a general framework for policy making at both the provincial and local levels. At the local level there are a number of design guidelines and administrative requirements for successful collaborative initiatives.

7.2 Design Guidelines for Collaborative Practices

Research suggests that the success of collaborative initiatives depends on the willingness of local level partners to make clear and thoughtful choices about key design elements that will guide the practices which are developed (Wang, 1992). Several questions must be considered in designing a coordinated service system.

7.2.1 Forms of Collaboration

A key question arising once agencies determine that they want to work together is:

1.   What form will this working arrangement take; will it involve communication, cooperation, coordination, or integration of services?

Agencies must decide whether their relations will be primarily either cooperative or collaborative in nature. Crowson and Boyd (1993b) and others suggest that distinctions can be made between cooperation and collaboration based on the extent of resource contribution each agency makes. Cooperation, for example, can occur when one agency undertakes a task with the agreement, but with no resource contribution, from another agency. In a cooperative arrangements at the service-delivery level partners help each other meet their respective organizational goals but they do so without making substantial changes in the basic services they provide. Cooperative arrangements may be made to co-locate services. No effort is made to establish common goals, and each service will continue to be designed, staffed, funded and evaluated separately.

Collaboration, in contrast, requires resource contributions from all involved. Collaboration goes beyond information sharing and coordination to emphasize joint efforts to improve some aspect of service delivery (Crowson & Boyd, 1993b). Partners establish common goals, agree to pool resources, jointly plan, implement and evaluate new services and procedures, and delegate individual responsibility for the outcomes of their joint efforts. The advantage of collaboration is that it provides the possibility of restructuring the expertise and resources of partners, and can facilitate the delivery of developmental rather than remedial, and preventative rather than corrective services. Crowson

and Boyd (1993b) argue this type of linkage best matches the holistic approach required to meet the changing needs of children, youth and families; and provides the most comprehensive service to the whole community.

The strategic decision of whether to cooperate or to collaborate will depend on the character of the local environment and the intentions of the agency. A collaborative strategy may be useful when there is a need to fundamentally change the way services are designed and delivered throughout a system. However, cooperative initiatives offer reasonable starting points towards systemic change. Real change will, however, ultimately require collaborative efforts (Crowson & Boyd, 1993b).

7.2.2. Purpose of Collaboration

A second key question that agencies must consider when designing collaborative programs is:

2.   What is the primary purpose or objective of the strategy?

Levy and Shepardson (1992) suggest that most programs have traditionally aimed at one or a combination of three purposes:

(a) remediation of a problem;
(b) early intervention responding to a warning of a potential problem; and, or
(c) prevention.

More recently purposes have widened to focus on the strengths of the family, rather than on problems and to:

(d) provide general support to enhance families coping with multiple stresses.

7.2.3. Who Will Be Served?

A third question that must be considered when designing collaborative programs is:

3.   Who is to be served? Will the program be targeted or universal?

Both targeted and universal approaches have value (Gardner, 1992). The "who" question also considers whether the effort will be primarily family-centered or youth-child centered; and whether it will focus on children and families served by the school, or on the whole community in which a school is located.

7.2.4. Services Offered

The way in which the "why" and "who" questions are defined will set the basic parameters for a fourth key question:

4.   What services will be offered through collaborations?

The thrust of Alberta's policy documents, for example, is toward comprehensiveness and inclusion of services that are the domain of government involvement. Alberta's polices, however, also give a clear message that families should be given responsibility for serving many of the basic needs of children.

Although policies may give some direction regarding the nature of collaborative services to be offered, at the operational level the question of what services can be coordinated is more complex than it appears at first glance. Even when agencies agree that they need to collaborate, they must

first struggle with this issue. Their efforts sometimes come down to trying to map the perceived needs of children in the community against the resources, mandates and abilities of various agencies. In addition to this and other aspects of design, there are a number of administrative requirements for a successful unfolding of collaborative initiatives to occur which are discussed next.

7.3   Administrative Requirements for Collaboration

Recent research and experience in coordination and collaboration has also identified a number of administrative issues that influence the success of efforts at service coordination Researchers have found that agencies face particularly difficult issues when they engage in collaborative efforts with their clients. This research suggests that the kind of community consultation promoted by Alberta's 1993 policy document Reshaping Children's Services is complex. The document sets out action steps that require government departments to negotiate with communities to provide programs or services, and to continue consulting with communities to facilitate development of new program initiatives. Research on these types of cooperative initiatives has found that there is a tendency for professionals to control the agenda, and for clients to become marginalized to the extend that ultimately their input is largely symbolic (Capper & Hammiller, 1993).

7.3.1. Technical Requirements

Research has also documented the numerous technical difficulties that are created by different governing policies. Institutional mandates identifying target populations and eligibility requirements, budgets, reporting cycles, salary and career structures can create barriers to collaboration. On the other hand if standard operating procedures, mandates and laws are compatible collaboration is easier. Current research has identified a number of requirements for effective collaboration (Bruner, 1991; Dryfoos, 1994; Jehl & Kirst, 1992; Melaville & Blank, 1991). This research suggests for example, that in order for agencies to overcome the constraints of their differing mandates it is important that they avoid jargon and shorthand and work on clarifying terms and establishing mutually acceptable terms. A general conclusion that can be drawn from research on efforts at coordination suggests that a basic requirement is that a favorable climate be created for partnerships. This requires that schools and agencies all recognize a common problem that can best be addressed cooperatively. Participants in a collaboration must be willing to focus on the problem and willing to at least cooperate, if collaboration is not possible.

7.3.2. Effective Communication

Research suggests that successful coordination also requires effective communication. For example, problem-solving processes, which enable participants to establish goals and objectives, agree on roles, make decisions and resolve conflicts, are important. Also critical is the development among participants of a shared vision of the elements that must be included in a service delivery system and the kind of outcomes that should be achieved. Initially a broad vision of the need for substantial change must be developed by participants. This vision sets the stage for developing a more practical vision, a process requiring that agencies undertake a self-conscious process of asking what brings them together, what they hope to do, and what trade offs must be made in how, where, and by whom resources are distributed.

The following six processes that promote the kind of communication among agencies required for productive partnerships have been identified as important for the success of collaborative initiatives by Melaville and Blank (1991, pp. 23-24).

1.   Learn how your partners operate: Who is in charge, officially and unofficially? What are their needs, pressures, and perceived roles?
2.   Designate a staff member as liaison: keep other staff well informed.
3.   Create an effective working climate, establish rapport with key players, respect

procedures and conventions of other agencies.
4.   Ensure periodic communication at highest administrative level among partners.
5.   Establish both formal and informal communication structures.
6.   Present objectives from your partners' points of view.

7.3.3. Collaborate at all Levels

In an analysis of what it takes to structure and interagency partnership, Bruner (1991) found that collaboration works best when it is practiced at all organizational levels. This means, in practice, that agencies should consider whether they have effective partnerships with their families in developing and achieving goals. At the level of intra-agency collaborations, agencies should consider whether their front-line workers collaborate with other staff and with supervisors in handling cases and in setting goals.

Agencies should keep in mind that collaboration is ultimately about people working with people. Thus, at the service-level it is important for agencies to develop a knowledge base about people and resources in the community. Melaville and Blank (1991) conclude that administrative-level collaborations should also be enhanced by establishing task forces or interagency coordinating councils to improve understanding on specific issues that require cross-agency responses (for example youth gangs, school dropouts).

Key to facilitating inter-agency collaboration are processes which identify the roles each agency plays, and which define organizational demands on those agencies that may inhibit their involvement. Gardner (1992) argues that it is especially important that a climate of collegiality permeate the initiative. He notes that "from the very first contact with other agencies, an atmosphere of mutual respect and collegiality, or shared responsibility and control, must pervade" (p. 100). He warns that "if the process of developing school-linked services is seen as an effort to fulfill a particular agency's agenda at the expense of another's, the process will fail" (p. 100).

7.3.4. The Human Dimension of Collaboration

A pervasive finding in current research is that the success of cooperative or collaborative initiatives depends largely on human factors. Collaborative efforts will only work if people are willing to cooperate and if there is leadership for them to do so. Melaville and Blank (1991) argue that "creating linkages among dozens of education and human service agencies requires not just one leader, but many, each working in concert with other partners" (p. 26). In the case of school-based collaborations, researchers have found principals to be instrumental to the success of the collaborative initiative (Mawhinney, 1994c; Smylie, Crowson, Hare & Levin, 1993). Other researchers have documented the importance of training staff in cross-agency policies and practices. Melaville and Blank (1991) observe that most human service professionals have been trained in systems which promote competition, "rather than in the principles of sharing and consensus building that collaboration requires" (p. 28). In their assessment ongoing inservice training has helped agencies in a number of collaborative initiatives meet the challenges of working together. An effective strategy for in-service training appears to focus initially on changing attitudes and subsequently on building specific skills such as knowledge of community resources, case documentation and record-keeping methods.

7.4   Recommendations

One of the key issues that the Commission on Learning must address in determining its recommendations regarding collaboration concerns the tendency of school boards to make collaborations with other agencies an obstacle-ridden course doomed to failure. Critics argue that the failure of many collaborative efforts is not surprising given agencies "ideologies, territorialities, place-boundedness, constituencies, technologies, and misunderstandings or conflicts over each other's

procedures and philosophies"(Townsend, 1980, p. 500). School boards have historically been particularly guilty of these tendencies. The observation by Mosher in 1975 that "the arena of school board responsibility is bounded and continuously shaped by statutes, regulations, court rulings and interpretations, guidelines, and standards issued by other governmental units" still applies (p. 83).

7.4.1 Overcoming Structural Constraints

School personnel are not alone in their complaint of constraints to their efforts at collaboration by "Ministry" type requirements, mandates and regulations. Many Health and Community and Social Service agencies share this complaint. They point out that different age limits, separate and overlapping jurisdictions, and different service mandates for children and youth have resulted in significant structural and institutional constraints to collaboration. Whereas some agencies serve gender-specific groups of youth in a particular age range, others may serve a broader age range. These conditions suggest that the Commission should recommend

Recommendation 1:
Audit of Constraining Regulations
The Ministries involved in collaborative services for children and youth should support audits of mandates, regulations, and procedures in a selected sample of communities to identify specific constraints to collaboration, and possible ways of overcoming those constraints.

7.4.2 Accounting for Institutional Orientations to Collaboration

Schools may confront legal constraints in collaborating with other agencies, however, the conservative approach to collaboration commonly taken by schools is also related to the "place-boundedness" of educators. Guided by professional self-interest, educators have a relatively narrow vision of the role of education in meeting the needs of young people. This vision may not match that held by the community and health workers and other professionals.

Schools have a long tradition of guarding against any loss of autonomy, a tradition rooted in the separation of education from other municipal enterprises that is evident in both the United States and Canada. In Canada the tradition of independent school boards predates Confederation in 1867. Even before that time school boards had been given special rights of taxation which meant that they did not have to compete with other municipal agencies for local tax dollars. This structural isolation continues today, and combined with the normative isolation of educators reinforces the fortressing of provincial educational systems. The normative bias of Canadian educators generally is to view education as a highly technical and specialized matter understood only by professionals. As in the United States, school boards in Canada have been adept at coopting social service functions that have over the past century been added to school programs (Tyack, 1992).

Unlike other children's service agencies schools have been "fat cat" organizations able, because of their statutory sources of funding, to develop extensive bureaucracies that have evolved unique institutional norms about the needs of young people and their role in fulfilling those needs. School boards have guidance counselors, and those who can afford it have their own social workers, social activity directors, nurses, and psychologists (Townsend, 1980, p. 489). Although school boards may have the resources to identify potential cooperative arrangements, they may not see the need to do so. Many youth service agencies describe school boards as inward-turned bureaucracies that are generally unresponsive to cooperative initiatives. Requests by these agencies to gain access to schools are often lost in central office bureaucracies.

These tendencies suggest that the Commission must address the fundamental question of what role schools should play in the lives of children and youth? Different models of collaboration fit best with different responses to this question. School-based service models provide services on site. In school-linked models services are provided on a site near a school but connected through an

administrative structure. Schools may also use referral systems for community-based services. Each model makes assumptions regarding the role of schools. Some American states have adopted the full-service school as an ideal model and have initiated systemic reforms to achieve that model. Others states are promoting a variety of models. Both approaches have important implications for policy making. In order to promote more rational planning for service systems the Commission should recommend that these models be identified in a comprehensive policy framework.

Recommendation 2:
Develop a Policy Framework for Models of Collaboration
The government of Ontario should formulate a policy framework outlining its stance regarding models school-agency collaboration.

7.4.3. Develop Local Governance Frameworks

In coming to its recommendations the Commission on Learning must also take into account that any efforts to develop collaboration among children's service agencies must be part of a broader reform of education, health, and social services. In all of these human service domains there is a movement toward giving local bodies greater decisionmaking authority and discretion. Issues of governance are implicated in these structural changes. The recommendations of the Children First Report underline the need for provincial government direction in establishing governance structures to support collaboration, including local-level advisory bodies charged with promoting partnerships among children's service agencies.

Recommendation 3:
Policy Framework for Local Governance Models
The provincial government should develop a policy framework to guide local community agencies in developing new governing entities which consolidate the leadership and decision making needed within local communities in order to find better ways of delivering services.

Critics acknowledge that such changes are politically charged because they require changes in the roles of all agencies involved. Many agree with Schorr (1989) that the type of governance structures required to take responsibility for outcomes across systems and programs do not yet exist.

7.4.4. Undertake Provincial-Level Structural Changes

Research outlined in this paper supports the argument by many Ontario school boards and agencies that local collaborative governance structures will not be effective on their own, the Ministries to which they report must also begin to work collaboratively.

Recommendation 4:
Provincial -Level Governance Models
Policy making bodies such as the Premier's Council on Health, Well-Being and Social Justice must be given the direction to study and recommend ways in which such collaboration can be enhanced. The efforts that have been made during the past years to encourage inter-Ministerial communication, co-operation, co-ordination, and collaboration in facilitating equitable, effective and efficient children's services should be reaffirmed by the government.

Recommendation 5:
Changing Institutional Practices to Promote Collaboration Among Ministries
Existing inter-Ministerial relations should be examined and new linking mechanisms identified through group process evaluations, focus groups, fish bowls and other means.
Without administrative, research and policy support in the provincial Ministries, collaborative initiatives in providing children's services cannot be easily promoted, identified, assisted, and evaluated. Committees such as the Interministerial Committee on Services for Children and Youth

established in 1990 must be supported by a permanent secretariat.

Recommendation 6:
Give Children's Service Collaboration a Home in the Ministerial Bureaucracy
The Ministries that serve children should contribute resources to a permanent administrative, research and policy support secretariat.

One of the functions of an Inter-Ministerial secretariat could be to act as a bank for best collaborative practices being developed in different communities.

Recommendation 7:
Collaborative Initiatives Bank of "Best Practice" Principles
The provincial government should establish a clearing house which disseminates "Best Collaborative Practices"

7.4.5. Promote and Document Best Practices

Current research underlines the diversity of approaches being taken to collaboration and suggests that no single model will suit all communities. At the same time basic principles on "Best Practices" can be gleaned from collaborative experiments underway. Incentives are needed to encourage local communities to develop unique models, and to document and disseminate the "Best Practices" which they develop.

Recommendation 8:
Incentives for Governance Model Development
The provincial government should provide incentives, through special grants, for local communities to develop different models of governance such as advisory councils and local policy councils that have responsibility and authority for allocating resources, delivering services, and maintaining accountability.

7.4.6. Develop Evaluation Processes

An unresolved issue in current research concerns the evaluation of collaborative initiatives. Although research has begun to document the issues that arise in the development and implementation of collaborative programs, much less research has focused on evaluation issues. Little is known about what constitutes an optimum governance structure to promote effective implementation.

Recommendation 9:
Develop Comparative Process Evaluation Procedures
Ministries should promote the development of comparative process evaluations which assess how students and families relate to the new systems that have been established.
The most important focus for evaluation is, however, to develop procedures for assessing outcomes. The difficulties associated with such evaluations are many, however, without such evaluations it will be difficult to learn from the collaborative experiments currently underway.

Recommendation 10:
Develop Outcome Evaluation Procedures
The Ministries promoting specific collaborative models should establish frameworks to guide the assessment of changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviours associated with collaborative initiatives.

7. 4.7. Take into Account the Economics of Collaboration

Evaluation, changes in governance, support for organizational change, and development of skills in collaboration all require resources and support. Research confirms that resource availability will determine whether collaborative efforts are permanent (Dryfoos, 1994; Verstegen, 1994; Kirst, 1993). Whereas cooperative efforts are often financed through sharing of space or information, in collaborative efforts all kinds of resources must be pooled and reconfigured: staff time, expertise, funds must all be shared. While the resources required from service-delivery partners are important most critics agree that ultimately these efforts must be "joined by system-wide policy changes to ensure the financing necessary for the continuity of comprehensive services and to facilitate long term linkages between service providers" (Verstegen, 1994, p. 23).

American researchers have begun to identify the necessary systemic changes that must be promoted by state and federal governments. There are, however, substantial differences in Canadian and American approaches to the financing of different social services. The Commission should recommend that:

Recommendation 11:
Study Financing of Collaborative Initiatives
The government of Ontario should fund the systematic study of the existing and required financial support systems for collaboration in the province.

Implicit in the exploration of the policy and practice of collaboration in this paper is an understanding that the social problems that affect children and their families must be examined in the context larger economic forces. Research consistently confirms that poverty is the most powerful risk factor for children, youth and their families. Critics such as Schorr (1993) argue that higher family incomes are critical, as are efforts to reduce unemployment. The Commission should keep this in mind in recommending that:

Recommendation 12:
Link Collaborative Initiatives with Economic Remedies
The Government of Ontario should strength the links between economic remedies which provide job training and support for the transition from welfare to work and remuneration for that work, with the forms of social supports provided through school-based interagency collaborations that enhance the social capital of communities and families.

8.0.   CONCLUSION

This paper has outlined some possible directions for policies and practices for interagency collaboration. Much more must be done in understanding the unique problems associated with collaborative initiatives in Ontario. Efforts to develop new policies and practices, must, however, not lose sight of the underlying impacts of poverty and the changing social context of the family. If there is a future for interagency collaboration it is not solely as a technical solution to a problem of delivering services more efficiently. Collaboration can only have a future if the policies and practices supporting this new form of social organization fulfill the normative goal of enhancing the life changes of children, youth, and their families.

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A major government reorganization on February 3, 1993 combined the three former ministries of Education, Colleges and Universities, and Skills Development into a superministry called the Ministry of Education and Training.

See: Interministry Committee on Services for Children and Youth (1992, November 24) Interministry working framework. Toronto: Ministry of Education and Training, p. 2.

The Committee was comprised of Assistant Deputy Ministers and representatives from the Ministries of Education and Training, Health, Community and Social Services, Housing, Tourism and Recreation, the Solicitor General, the Attorney General, Correctional Services, and Natural Resources, as well as representatives from the Ontario Women's Directorate, the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, the Office of Disability Issues and the Premier's Council on Health, Well-Being and Social Justice.

Research on linkages among education health and social service systems in American states that are creating new governance structures by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL) is guided by this typology of dimensions (Pollard, Mutcher, Sydoriak, & Willis, 1994).

Dryfoos (1994) identified over 574 school-linked and school-based health and social service programs operating in the United States in 1993, and this figure does not represent the family resource and youth centers which are often associated with schools. She found that only ten states did not operate school-based clinics, but many others, particularly Florida, California and Kentucky had initiated large-scale programs to promote integrated service systems in schools.

Critics such as Scheurich (1993) taking a poststructural perspective argue that much of the current research on collaboration takes a conservative orientation, focusing on implementation issues and ignoring the darker aspects of what they see as a form of social control and surveillance by the state.

Le Centre scolaire-communautaire :
Réflexion et synthèse des écrits

Pierre Michaud

Michaud, Pierre.

Le Centre scolaire-communautaire: Réflexion et synthèse des écrits
(The School-Community Center: Reflection, literature review and recommendations), **no date.**

This paper traces the history of school community centres in Canada, attempts to define their role, examines their goals, the conditions of their establishment, and the economic advantages of such projects, and finally, it discusses possible administrative structures.

School community centres are particulary valuable in a minority-language setting since it becomes an institution with which this population can identify. These centres consist of school facilities (including daycare), playgrounds, auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, meeting rooms, and, at times, religious facilities. The schools and religious facilities permit a community focus in this geographic location. The goals of these centres are to provide a means of self-identification for the community, a centre for communication, a way of combatting assimilation, and a place where basic community services can be efficiently offered. However, the logistics of such cooperative ventures among so many stakeholders can be difficult, although some cost savings can be made for the participants. Michaud emphasizes that a good administrative structure is essential, and he outlines three models: autonomous, integrated, and mixed (the first two combined.

Michaud recommends that school community centres be set up where numbers warrant, that they be administered by a single elected board (not the school board), that the Education Act of Ontario be revised to permit the financing of these centres, and that MET provided funds for feasibility studies.

* * * * *

Ce document fait l'historique des centres scolaires communautaires au Canada, essaie de définir leur rôle, examine leurs objectifs, les conditions de leur création et les avantages économiques qu'ils présentent et discute des structures administratives possibles.

Les centres scolaires communautaires sont particulièrement importants dans un contexte linguistique minoritaire, car ils deviennent une institution à laquelle la population peut s'identifier. Ces centres comprennent des installations scolaires (y compris des garderies), des terrains de jeux, des auditoriums, des gymnases, des bibliothèques, des salles de réunion et parfois des lieux de culte. Les écoles et les installations religieuses permettent à la communauté de se retrouver dans un même lieu géographique. Voici les objectifs de ces centres: moyen d'auto-identification pour la communauté, centre de communications, moyen de lutter contre l'assimilation et lieu de prestation de services communautaires de base. Cependant, les problèmes de logistique posés par une collaboration avec un aussi grand nombre de partenaires peuvent s'avérer difficiles, même si l'on peut réaliser certaines économies pour les participants. Monsieur Michaud insiste sur le fait qu'il faut absolument établir une bonne structure administrative. Il propose trois modèles: système autonome, intégré ou mixte (combinaison des deux).

Monsieur Michaud recommande que l'on crée des centres scolaires communautaires là où le nombre le justifie, qu'ils soient administrés par un conseil unique élu (pas par le conseil scolaire), que l'on modifie la Loi sur l'éducation de l'Ontario pour permettre le financement de ces centres, et que l'on accorde des fonds au MÉFO pour qu'il puisse entreprendre des études de faisabilité.

Le concept d'un centre scolaire-communautaire est relativement nouveau au Canada. Malgré sa nouveauté, le concept a acquis un sens bien particulier auprès des minorités langues officielles. En effet, dans certaines régions, les communautés francophones ou anglophones ont senti l'importance de regrouper autour d'une seule institution la majorité de ses activités de développement linguistique, récréatives et de promotion culturelle. Cette institution intégrée, créée pour répondre à la fois aux besoins éducatifs, sociaux, culturels, récréatifs et communautaires des groupes de minorités officielles, est encore mal connue; de ce fait, elle soulève de nombreuses questions. Comment se définit-elle? Quelle en est la mission? Quels en sont les éléments constituants? Quels en sont les préalables? Quels sont les rôles respectifs de l'école et de l'activité communautaire? Existe-t-il des modèles?

Cette présentation traitera de ces questions fondamentales et fera certaines recommandations pertinentes au contexte ontarien.

1   L'évolution historique des centres

Le premier centre scolaire-communautaire destiné à une minorité officielle au Canada fut mis en place à Fredericton au Nouveau-Brunswick, en 1978. Le Centre scolaire et communautaire Sainte-Anne de Fredericton, est réellement le résultat de l'évolution de l'école Sainte-Anne mise sur pied en 1966. Par la suite, dans cette même province, les centre Samuel de Champlain de Saint-Jean et le Carrefour Beausoleil de Miramichi ont vu le jour entre 1984 et 1985. Ces trois premiers centres sont destinés aux contribuables de langue française de régions où ils sont minoritaires. Dans ces régions, la loi scolaire prévoit que les conseils scolaires minoritaires géreront à la fois l'école et le centre communautaire. Au Nouveau-Brunswick, il y a aussi un centre scolaire-communautaire destiné aux résidents de langue anglaise de la région d'Edmundston.

Dans les provinces Atlantiques, au moins trois autres centres sont en opération : le centre Sainte-Anne à Grand'terre, Terre-Neuve et les centres Le Carrefour de l'Ile Saint-Jean de Charlottetown, Ile du Prince Edouard et le centre de Halifax/Dartmouth.

Dans l'ouest canadien, la communauté francophone de Prince-Albert a mis sur pied un comité d'étude de la viabilité d'un centre scolaire-communautaire dès 1984. Bien qu'un sondage effectué auprès de la communauté ait démontré le besoin ainsi que l'appui de la population pour le projet et que celui-ci reçoit l'appui du Secrétariat d'état, ce dernier demeure à l'état de projet.

En Ontario, plusieurs projets de centre scolaire-communautaire ont fait l'objet d'études de faisabilité au cours des dernières années; entre autre deux de Sault Sainte-Marie, London, Kingston et du secteur Ouest de la région d'Ottawa-Carleton. Dans chaque cas, bien que la viabilité des centres semble démontrée, qu'un nombre de subventions de démarrage furent accordées et que les sources de financement aient été identifiées, la volonté politique pour assurer leur mise en place ferme manque encore.

Depuis 1991 le Ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation de l'Ontario a offert certaines subventions à titre expérimental à quelques conseils scolaires qui ont tenté des expériences de mise en place de centres scolaires-communautaires. Ces dernières ont surtout été affectés à des réaménagements fonctionnels d'édifices. Les volet communautaire de tels centres se doit habituellement d'être soit autosuffisant, soit subventionné par d'autres ministères ou agences (municipalités, conseils scolaires, etc.)

2   Le concept de centre scolaire-communautaire

Pour les minorité de langue officielle, le concept de centre scolaire-communautaire correspond à plus que la simple fusion des concepts d'école et de centre communautaire ou culturel dont il a emprunté ses éléments essentiels. Le centre scolaire-communautaire, en plus d'offrir à sa population les services normalement dévolus à ces deux types d'organisations, veut aussi être une institution

Le centre scolaire-communautaire : réflexion et synthese des écrits

régionale avec laquelle la minorité de langue officielle peut s'identifier. Sur certains aspects le centre scolaire-communautaire peut être comparé aux *community schools* américains ou aux centres paroissiaux d'autrefois. Ceux-ci regroupent dans un même endroit, l'école, les activités communautaires, les terrains de jeux, les lieux de rencontres de différentes organisations, et exploitent les locaux scolaires pour offrir une multitude de services communautaires et récréatifs favorisant ainsi une exploitation économique rationnelle des édifices et terrains. Dans une perspective contemporaine, un tel centre peut offrir des services diversifiés, répondre aux besoins émergents de la communauté et faire preuve de flexibilité : services de santé, de garderie, centre de jour pour adultes, animation culturelle, camp d'été, bibliothèque, vidéothèque, aide juridique, etc.

Voici comment la Commission nationale des parents francophones définit le concept de centre scolaire-communautaire :

Le Centre scolaire-communautaire est une institution homogène, gérée en partie au moins par la communauté locale, et ayant une double mission : c'est d'abord un complexe scolaire regroupant l'ensemble des services éducatifs destinés à tous les membres d'une communauté et régis par la loi scolaire. Les installations servent aussi comme lieu d'intégration des forces vives de la communauté dans tous les secteurs d'activité que ce soit le culturel, les sports et loisirs, l'économie et le changement social.

Le centre scolaire-communautaire est plus qu'un lieu physique, c'est le point de mire de la communauté, l'expression de son identité et de sa volonté de s'épanouir. Le centre scolaire-communautaire multiplie les occasions d'expression de toutes sortes en langue française. Le centre suscite une nouvelle vigueur et une nouvelle confiance au sein de la minorité.

Contrairement aux centres communautaires dont le modèle est mieux connu au Canada, le centre scolaire-communautaire est construit autour de l'école. Dans plusieurs cas, l'école a constitué la première phase d'un projet. Le centre scolaire a éventuellement évolué en un centre scolaire-communautaire pour la minorité de langue officielle. L'école relève habituellement de l'auto-rité d'une commission ou d'un conseil scolaire local. Elle a sa propre direction. L'école poursuit des objectifs d'apprentissage, d'acquisition de savoirs, de savoir-être et de savoir-faire. Elle doit se conformer aux lois et exigences du ministère de l'Éducation provincial et de la commission scolaire dont elle relève.

Le concept de centre culturel ou communautaire n'est pas nouveau. Au Canada, comme dans plusieurs pays, certaines municipalités et certaines minorités importantes se sont dotés de telles institutions. L'étude des caractéristiques et des missions de ces centres présente souvent très peu d'isomorphismes, si ce n'est que de se pourvoir de certains services jugés importants ou dans l'intérêt collectif. Certains centres communautaires ou culturels sont de simples lieux de rencontres sociales, d'autres offrent des cours, des activités récréatives, ils sont réellement une extension de l'école, certains regroupent des services disponibles ailleurs dans la langue de la majorité : santé, aide juridique, vente d'artisanat nationale, etc. Enfin, certains centres communautaires sont de véritables clubs sociaux à but lucratif. Les centres communautaires servent occasionnellement de lieu de culte pour les communautés culturelles.

Dans certains pays où cohabitent différentes nationalités, comme en Suisse, la constitution nationale prévoit : "un engagement pris en commun . . . de maintenir les minorités linguistiques menacées dans leurs régions linguistiques traditionnelles" (Arquint, 1990). Ce droit peut se concrétiser par la mise en place de centres communautaires ou culturels. Au Canada, non seulement les minorités officielles au Québec et hors Québec ont-elles mis en place des centres culturels ou communautaires, d'autres minorités culturelles ont fait de même. En Ontario, il suffit de mentionner les communautés portugaises, juives et polonaises.

Le concept de centre scolaire-communautaire n'est pas exclusif aux minorités. Dans chaque province, de nombreuses commissions ou conseils scolaires et municipalités ont conclu des ententes afin de favoriser l'émergence de tels services. Pour les ressortissants des minorités officielles, la cohabitation d'une école et d'un centre communautaire présente de nombreux avantages. En effet, l'acquisition de l'héritage culturel, de valeurs et d'attitudes chères à la minorité peut être de beaucoup rehaussée si elle se fait dans un milieu riche et respectueux de son identité. Le centre scolaire-communautaire vise à la fois à assurer la vie culturelle et à favoriser la participation à long terme de ses élèves dans la société civile et politique nationale. La cohabitation de plusieurs institutions toutes militantes dans le sens des valeurs prisées par une commu-nauté ne peut que favoriser l'épanouissement des élèves. Clarence Légère dit :

> Le centre est un milieu de développement humain et seuls les efforts concertés de la communauté et du personnel peuvent assurer son rayonnement et consolider son action de manière à en faire un outil efficace pour contrer l'assimilation et répondre aux besoins de la communauté en améliorant la qualité de vie de la minorité de langue française. . . Cette approche enrichit le développement global des jeunes et favorise en plus, le développement de la minorité de langue française dans son ensemble.

Du point de vue physique ou architectural, un centre scolaire-communautaire est constitué d'une école, de terrains, salle de spectacles et de locaux connexes. Une telle structure offre de nombreux avantages tant économiques, sociaux, qu'administratifs.

Du point de vue économique, le centre permet une exploitation plus rationnelle des locaux. Après les heures régulières, les salles de classes peuvent être utilisées soit pour des réunions, soit par le service de l'éducation aux adultes, soit comme ateliers artistiques ou culturels. De même, les gymnases et les terrains de jeux non utilisés permettent de combler les besoins récréatifs, sociaux et culturels de la communauté. Les fonctions de bibliothèque scolaire peuvent être élargies pour en faire le centre de ressources de toute la communauté.

En principe, rien n'empêche les centres scolaires-communautaires d'offrir des services dont la rentabilité économique est assurée, location de locaux spécialisés, salles à manger gastronomiques, bars dansant, etc. Certains centres culturels ont beaucoup de succès en offrant de tels services, ce qui garantit des revenus et diminue la dépendance sur les subventions gouvernementales et les levées de fonds.

Du point de vue social, la présence quasi quotidienne des élèves à l'école assure un contact quasi continu avec une partie importante de la communauté. Dans certains centres scolaires-communautaires où on a aussi choisi d'offrir des services religieux en fin de semaine, on s'est donné un autre moyen de communication régulière avec une partie importante de la communauté.

Enfin, du point de vue administratif, certaines formules de gestion permettent une exploitation efficace des ressources disponibles et favorisent l'atteinte des objectifs légitimes de la communauté sans duplication ou éparpillement des efforts.

Compte tenu de la conjecture politique canadienne contemporaine le concept de centre scolaire-communautaire offre une alternative intéressante. Son acceptation générale pourrait aider à cerner l'ampleur de l'extension du bilinguisme officiel tout en freinant l'assimilation massive des générations montantes et ce, sans créer de ghettos ou d'inégalités sociales difficilement acceptables.

3   La mission et les objectifs d'un centre

Le centre scolaire-communautaire se veut une réponse aux besoins des communautés de langue officielle à l'ère des communications et de l'urbanisation. En conséquence, avant de parler des objectifs de mise en place de services spécifiques, il convient, en termes plus généraux, d'identifier

les éléments constituant sa mission proprement dite :

1- le centre scolaire-communautaire constitue avant tout une structure administrative et physique autour de laquelle une communauté se donne des services;

2- le centre scolaire-communautaire est un moyen d'épanouissement collectif de tous les citoyens appartenant au groupe minoritaire;

3- le centre scolaire-communautaire est un instrument d'action sociale et communautaire efficace;

4- le centre scolaire-communautaire est un moyen de regrouper, de rallier et d'informer la communauté;

5- le centre scolaire-communautaire est pour la communauté de langue française, un mode d'identification culturelle et linguistique et de lutte contre l'assimilation;

6- le centre scolaire-communautaire devient le lieu de prestation de certains services sociaux, récréatifs, culturels et communautaires en langue française.

La commission nationale des parents francophones propose une liste de neuf familles de services dits essentiels à être mis en place dans les centres scolaires-communautaires. Cette liste n'est ni exhaustive, ni exclusive. Elle peut toutefois servir de squelette autour duquel peut se greffer toute une gamme d'objectifs spécifiques à une communauté.

1- *l'école française*. L'école peut prendre différentes formes : catholique, publique, élémentaire, secondaire, mixte, etc. Sa taille peut aussi varier. Cependant, celle-ci doit respecter l'homogénéité linguistique du centre. Ce n'est pas une école d'immersion.

2- *les services pré-scolaires*. Pour les communautés de langue française hors-Québec, les services préscolaires sont essentiels. Ils permettent aux parents qui doivent travailler à l'extérieur du foyer d'offrir à leurs enfants en bas âge un service essentiel dans leur langue. Idéalement, les services préscolaires doivent s'étendre de la pouponnière, pour les moins de deux ans; à la garderie, pour les moins de cinq ans, aux services de garde avant et après les heures de classe.

3- *les services d'éducation permanente et d'alphabétisation*. Les adultes de langue française ont besoin de programmes de perfectionnement et de cours leur donnant accès aux études collégiales et universitaires.

4- *la bibliothèque*. La bibliothèque, intégrée de l'école et du centre communautaire, devient le centre de ressources et le centre de diffusion du matériel culturel. Elle permet la diffusion de l'information et du matériel écrit, audio et visuel : livres, journaux, revues, cassettes, disques, etc.

5- *le service de gestion du centre*. Un centre scolaire-communautaire doit être administré par les ressortissants de la communauté. Dans le cas de la gestion scolaire, on doit se conformer aux lois et règlements sur l'éducation.

6- *les installations adéquates*. Un centre scolaire-communautaire, en plus des salles de classes et des bureaux administratifs doit disposer de gymnases, de salles de spectacles, de terrains de jeux, de cuisines et de salles à manger, d'ateliers pour la pratique des arts d'expression (musique, peinture, danse, artisanat), de locaux propices aux rencontres et aux besoins de différents organismes.

7- *la participation des organismes*. Le centre doit permettre à tous les organismes locaux de langue française de faire une utilisation maximale des espaces disponibles. Scouts, guides, clubs sociaux et récréatifs, associations de tous genres, doivent pouvoir jouir des espaces.

8- *l'interaction des membres et de la communauté*. Le centre scolaire-communautaire doit militer au décloisonnement de la vie française dans la communauté. Il doit favoriser la communication entre les membres et voir à leur information.

9- *la flexibilité*. Enfin, le centre scolaire-communautaire est un organisme culturel flexible qui doit savoir s'adapter et répondre aux besoins émergeants de la communauté au moment opportun. Il doit être à même de saisir régulièrement les besoins et de rendre les services disponibles aussitôt que possible.

4   Les préalables à la mise en place

Abordant la question de la planification et de la mise en place de centres scolaires-communautaires, Jean Fournier (1990) insiste sur l'importance de la cohésion au sein de la communauté. Les discussions préliminaires à un tel projet sont ardues et nécessaires. Il s'agit de consulter et de sensibiliser la population; il faut amener à la même table les diverses composantes d'une communauté. La planification d'un projet d'envergure demande du temps, des compromis, et impose des choix difficiles. Il n'est pas facile de concilier les projets d'une école d'une garderie, d'un centre de jour pour aînés, et d'un comptoir de caisse populaire. De plus, dans les provinces où l'article 93 de l'Acte de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord protège le droit à des écoles confessionnelles, la conciliation des intérêts des contribuables des secteurs publics et séparés peut s'avérer un obstacle sérieux dans le contexte de l'Ontario.

Dans cette perspective, Donald Foidart (1989), écrit :

> Les expériences dans diverses démarches de centres scolai-res-communautaires démontrent clairement que le pouvoir décisionnel, surtout les instances politiques provinciales ou locales, ne prendront pas de décisions et n'appuieront pas le projet s'il y a manifestation de désaccord dans la communauté.

Du point de vue administratif, il y a lieu de prévoir une structure flexible qui soit respectueuse des contraintes juridiques imposées par les municipalités, les conseils scolaires et les différents ministères provinciaux et fédéraux.

Du point de vue financier, bien que le Secrétariat d'état prévoit certaines subventions en vue de favoriser l'émergence de centres scolaires et communautaires, il n'existe pas de source unique de financement comme dans le cas des conseils scolaires. Les différentes activités proposées pour le centre peuvent qualifier pour des subventions soit de la municipalité, soit du conseil scolaire, soit des ministères ou agences provinciales ou fédérales, soit de l'entreprise locale.

Il importe donc tant au palier scolaire qu'au palier communautaire de mettre en place des comités de planification d'un tel centre et d'articuler tous les détails susceptibles de divergences importantes avant d'approcher les organismes subventionnaires. Il importe aussi de prévoir, dès le début de la concertation, des mécanismes de résolution des litiges éventuels.

5   Les aspects économiques d'un tel projet

Cette section ne constitue aucunement une étude poussée des aspects économiques d'une éventuelle collaboration différents organismes en vue de la mise en place d'un centre scolaire-communautaire; elle se veut simplement une première réflexion pour identifier les perspectives qu'elle présente.

Le fait d'accepter de loger une école dans un centre scolaire-communautaire n'implique pas nécessairement des économies. Cependant, cette possibilité existe et des économies en ce qui a trait au personnel non professionnel; au personnel enseignant et au coût des locaux spécialisés sont possibles. Une telle collaboration peut aussi permettre d'offrir des cours et des services plus diversifiés et de plus grande qualité.

a) Le personnel non professionnel. Le secrétariat d'une école est habituellement constitué de personnel clérical qui s'occupe de la gestion des affaires scolaires : comptabilité, achats, transport, dotation, informatique, etc.; et de personnel clérical qui s'occupe des affaires académiques : bulletins, travaux des enseignants, communication avec les parents, etc.

Certaines informations recueillies auprès des directions de différentes écoles incitent à croire qu'une collaboration au niveau des fonctions de gestion des affaires scolaires permettrait la réduction du personnel. Des économies se réaliseraient aussi au niveau du personnel de soutien : le personnel de con-ciergerie et les gardiens seraient moins nombreux dans un seul édifice que dans deux ou trois.

b) Le personnel enseignant. Il y a peut-être lieu d'économies au niveau de l'éducation permanente, de l'alphabétisation et le recours à des personnes ressources prises au palier communautaire.

c) Les locaux spécialisés. La simple cohabitation de deux écoles sous un même toit implique que, tout au moins, les terrains, les gymnases, les auditoriums, les bibliothèques et la cafétéria seraient partagés et souvent rentabilisés. De plus, avec le moindre effort il est possible d'en arriver à une exploitation scolaire et communautaire des laboratoires de sciences : physique, chimie, biologie, sciences naturelles; les ateliers professionnels : dessin, arts industriels et arts ménagers; et enfin les locaux conçus pour l'enseignement des arts d'expression : peinture, danse, musique, etc. Si l'on estime à environ 50 000 $ la mise en place d'une salle de classe ordinaire, ces locaux valent tous au moins le double. De telles économies justifieraient tout au moins les aménagements nécessaires pour adapter un édifice existant aux exigences physiques d'un centre scolaire-communautaire.

En somme, la moindre collaboration entre les conseils scolaires et le secteur communautaire peut représenter des économies globales et substan-tielles à long terme

6. Les modèles de gestion

Il existe différents modèles de gestion de centre scolaire-communau-taire Préalablement à un choix de modèle, certaines précisions sont de mise en regard des intérêts des différents partis, d'une part, et de la propriété des locaux. d'autre part.

a) Les intérêts des partis. Dans certains domaines les conseils scolaires et les centres communautaires ont des intérêts communs; de plus, habituellement chacun tire certains bénéfices d'une saine coopération. Cependant dans d'autres domaines, ces partis ont des intérêts très différents. En effet, une situation de cohabitation où deux conseils scolaires et un centre communau-taire partagent des locaux peut mettre en évidence des situations où les intérêts des uns et des autres sont divergents. Si des mécanismes de résolution de problèmes ne sont pas prévus, ces divergences peuvent causer des frictions et éventuellement nuire au fonctionnement.

En effet, dans d'autres provinces, il s'est plus d'une fois avéré que lors de périodes de restrictions financières, ou lors de la fixation des priorités, les intérêts d'un des partis furent négligés. L'étude des modèles de gestion doit se faire dans la perspective d'une recherche de situations mutuellement bénéfiques et respectueuses de la dynamique de chacun des partis. En d'autres mots, une structure physique et une structure administrative qui seraient bénéfiques pour l'ensemble d'une communauté devraient permettre à chacun des partis à l'entente d'atteindre ses objectifs éducatifs ou communautaires sans pour autant leur imposer de compromis inacceptables. Toute structure de gestion doit aussi être respectueuse des principes d'une gestion responsable dans une société démocratique.

L'expérience des premiers centres scolaires-communautaires indique clairement qu'il faut prévoir des structures bien articulées et ne pas compter exclusivement sur la bonne volonté des intervenants en place. Les règles du jeux doivent dont être établies préalablement à l'ouverture du centre.

b) La propriété des locaux. Pour des raisons surtout historique, les locaux des centres scolaires-communautaires étudiés n'appartiennent pas tous au même types de propriétaires. Certains centres

sont la propriétés de corporations de la couronne, d'autres de sociétés à buts non-lucratifs alors

que d'autres appartiennent au conseil scolaire local. Chacune des formules présente des avantages et des inconvénients.

Compte tenu de la disponibilité d'édifices scolaires en Ontario et des perspectives offertes par le groupe d'étude sur le partage des édifices scolaires sur ce territoire, il serait logique que l'édifice d'un éventuel centre scolaire-communautaire soit la propriété du conseil scolaire, comme tous les édifices scolaires. Dans le contexte d'un centre scolaire-communautaire, cette formule serait avantageuse en autant que la structure scolaire soit franco-phone homogène, car elle ne déroge pas de la pratique courante. Il y a cependant danger que les conseillers scolaires qui sont habituellement élus pour administrer une structure d'instruction publique aient prioritairement des intérêts scolaires et ils peuvent être peu enclins à considérer les besoins communautaires.

Pour pallier à ces inconvénients, il serait important de prévoir, préalablement à l'ouverture du centre, certains espaces exclusifs qui deviendrait le chez-soi du conseils et du centre communautaire. En plus, une politique de partage et de gestions des espaces communs : gymnases, auditoriums, laboratoires, classes spécialisées, terrains de jeux, cafétérias, stationnements, etc. doit être acceptée par tous les intervenants.

c Les modèles possibles de gestion. Toute comme le suggèrent Leroux (1991) et Foidart (1989), il est possible d'identifier trois grand types de modèles de gestion d'un tel centre : a) un modèle fondé sur la séparation totale des juridictions, modèle dit de fonctionnement autonome; b) un modèle de gestion entièrement intégrée et c) un modèle mixte. En Ontario ces modèles peuvent entraîner la participation de deux sections des conseils scolaires ou celle d'une seule.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1- Que en Ontario, dans les communautés où le nombre le justifie, (soit un territoire où la population de langue française est au moins de **n** habitants et ou celle-ci représente entre **x** % et **y** % de la population totale), la reforme scolaire prévoit la possibilité de la mise en place de centres scolaires-commu-nautaires.

2- Qu'un seul organisme soit responsable et redevable de tous les aspects de la gestion de chaque centre scolaire-communautaire (Le conseil du centre scolaire- communautaire). Ce conseil sera :
a) soit élu selon des modalités semblables à un conseil scolaire et responsable à la fois de la gestion scolaire et de celle des affaires communautaires. Il ne releverait pas du conseil scolaire.
b) soit un comité permanent du conseil scolaire dont les pouvoirs seraient précisés dans la loi de l'éducation de l'Ontario et dont certains membres plénipotentiaires représenteraient le secteur communautaire

3- Que la refonte de la loi de l'éducation en Ontario prévoie les modalités suivantes de financement :
a) que tous les coûts encourus suite à l'utilisation du personnel, des équipements et des édifices (secrétariat, conciergerie, utilisation des salles de classe et des gymnases, etc.) soient imputables au conseil scolaire.
b) que les municipalités soient tenues de contribuer aux activités communautaires et culturelles offertes au centre scolaire-communautaire pour leur minorité de langue officielle proportionnellement à ce qu'elles offrent à la majorité.
c) que toute initiative particulière ou projets spéciaux du secteur communautaire soit subventionné, ou auto-financé.

d)   que le conseil d'administration du centre scolaire-communautaire puisse prélever un maximum de **0,5** millième de taxe foncière normalisée des contribuables parrainant le centre pour les coûts du secteur communautaire.

e)   que si une telle taxe est prélevée, le ministère de l'Éducation et de la Formation contribue aux dépenses du secteur communautaire selon les mêmes proportions que pour les dépenses ordinaires reconnues du scolaires.

4-   Qu'une subvention de mise en place de centres scolaires-communautaires prévoie :
a) une étude de faisabilité pour chaque cas,
b) les aménagements nécessaires des locaux scolaires existants,
c) l'achat de certains équipements communautaires initiaux et
d) le salaire du premier directeur du secteur com-munautaire et l'assistance cléricale pour une période d'un an.

5-   Que la gestion d'un centre scolaire-communautaire ne soit pas confié conjointement à un conseil scolaire publique et à un conseil scolaire séparé.

The School-Cummunity Center
Reflection, literature review and recommendations
Executive summary

As applied to official minorities in Canada, the concept of school/community centers is relatively new. In certain regions francophone and anglophones communities have felt the necessity to regroup most of their educational, cultural and recreative activities around one institution. This paper traces the history of school community centers in Canada, it attempts to define their role, it looks at the goals, the conditions for their establishment, the economics advantages of such projects and finally it discusses possible administrative structures.

1   The history of school/community centers

The first Canadian school/community center was opened in Fredericton New Brunswick in 1978. During the following years, similar centers were opened in Saint John, Miramichi and Edmundston (English) in that province. More recently, in the Atlantic provinces, centers were opened in Grand'terre, Newfoundland; Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island and Halifax/ Dartmouth. In Western Canada a feasibility study proposed a similar center in Prince-Albert. In Ontario, many school/community projects were suggested recently: Sault Sainte-Marie, London, Kingston and the Western sector of Ottawa-Carleton.

Since 1991, the Ministry of Education and Training has provided grants on an experimental basis for some aspects of these centers but, to date, the grants remain discretionary.

2   The school-community center

For official minorities a school/community center means more than the simple integration of a school, recreational and a cultural center. The school/community center is an institution with which the minority population can identify. It is in parts inspired by the American community school and the parish centers found in the traditional French Canadian catholic communities. In contemporary Ontario such a center could offer a large number of services : education, health, child care, day centers, cultural services, adult education, summer activities, library, legal aid, credit union, etc.

Such centers exist in other countries where rights of official minorities are recognized, like in Switzerland (Arquint, 1990). In Ontario, some communities have already been able to create cultural centers that are very active : polish, Portuguese, Jewish, etc. Similarly, many Canadian municipalities have entered agreement with school boards in order to use their facilities and personnel for social, cultural and recreative activities.

From an architectural point of view school community centers are constituted of a school facilities, playgrounds, auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, specialized rooms and sometimes religious facilities. And from an economic point of view they promote savings and offer a social structure that represents little duplications of services to the minorities. Some centers are managed in such a way as to be at least partly financially independent.

In the case of official minorities, the school and the weekly church services permit the centers to be in near continuous contact with the community it serves.

3   The Goals of School/community centers

The following goals are usually pursued by a school/community center:

1-   The school/community center is a structure around which the official minority can organize and provides itself with certain basic services.

2-   The school/community center of the official minority is a means of identification and self fulfillment

3- The school/community center is a means to achieve social and community goals

4- The school/community center is a mean of regrouping and infor-ming members of a c ommunity

5- The school/community center for the minority is a means to promote community i dentification and to combat assimilation

6- The school/community center is a a place where certain basis community services can be offered efficiently

The following services are usually offered in school/community centers: a minority language school, pre-school and child care services, adult and continuing education services, library services and facilities, administrative services, recreational and cultural services, space for community organizations and meeting room of all kinds.

A school/community center is an administratively light and flexible organization, it has a simple organizational structure and thus should be able to answer the emerging needs of an active community rapidly.

4.   The conditions of implementation

Jean Fournier (1990) insist on the importance of community cohesion in the planning and the operating of a school/community center. The community must be informed of the benefits of such a center. The planning demands compromises from the participating agencies. It is not easy to bring a school, a child care center, a day center, a credit union, etc. under the same roof. In Ontario, educators know the difficulties encountered in sharing of schools by separate and a public school board, let alone the the regrouping of many institutions that sometime pursue contradictory goals.

The planning of any project must take into account the judicial constraints imposed by municipalities, school boards, and the different provincial and federal ministries. All are stakeholders in such a project. Meticulous and detailed planning is thus an essential part of such a project.

5.   The economic aspects of School/community centers

The regrouping under one roof a school and a community center does not necessarily imply saving. However, with good management, savings are possible due to a wise use of personnel, equipment and facilities. A high degree of collaboration can also permit to offer more diversified services to the community at a reduced price. Savings are possible using wisely the clerical and custodial personnel. Some teachers could be used both in regular programs and continuous educations programs. Specialized room can be used more intensively: auditoriums, cafeterias, libraries, etc. In other words, collaboration between educational administrators and community administrators can result in significant savings for the community at large.

6.   Possible administrative models

The experience of the first school/community centers has shown the importance of providing these organizations initially with a well articulated administrative structure and very specific job descriptions. One cannot count on the good will to guaranty the success of such ventures. Lines of authority and conflict solving mechanisms must be provided prior to the begining of operations.

It is also importance to provide some exclusive space in the centers for the various parties involved, school officials and community officials must each have an area of their own. An arrangement must specify how shared space is allocated and used.

Existing school/community centers are administered in very different manners. Three major models prevail : Leroux (1991) et Foidart (1989):

a) A model of autonomous functioning where school and community organizations simply share the same building each having exclusive areas and no or little formal contacts.

b) An integrated model where the same administration and the same council is responsible for all the activities weather they are educational, social, cultural, recreational or other.

c) A mixed model which is a compromise between the two preceding ones.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1- That in Ontario, in communities where the numbers justify, (a total French language population of **n** persons representing between **x** % and **y** % of the total population), the educational reform provide for the possible establishment of school/community centers

2- That school/community centers be administered by a single board (The School/community center board) responsible and accountable for the operation of each school/community center. This board will be either:

a) elected following similar modalities as in the case of a school board with responsibilities of a both school and community aspects of the center. This board would be independent of any school board.

b) a permanent committee of the board of educations with community responsibilities specified in the revised education act and enhanced by plenipotentiary representatives of the community sector. Within school board policies this board would be autonomous

3- That the revised education law of Ontario provides for the financing of school/community centers as follows:

a) that expenditures resulting from the use of personnel, equipment and facilities (secretariat, custodial, use of space, etc.) be assumed within the regular school board budget.

b) that municipalities be asked to contribute to the minority community, cultural and recreational activities held at the school/community center proportionally to their expenditures for the majority community.

c) that special community project be financed through grants or be self- financed.

d) that school/community boards be entitled to raise a local taxes rate of the patron community not exceeding **0.5** mill (normalized) for community purposes

e) that, if such a taxes is raises, the Ministry of Education and Training matched the grant at the same rate as ordinary recognized expenditures.

4- That an initial grant for the establishment of school/community centers provide funds for a) a feasibility study in each case, b) provisions and modification of existing space, c) the purchase of certain initial equipment, and d) the salary of the director and clerical assistance for a one year period.

5- That the administration of a school/community center not be administered jointly by a public and separate school board of education.

Réflexions et suggestions concernant l'administration et le financement de l'éducation

Réflexions et suggestions concernant l'administration et le financement de l'éducation

Une commission d'enquête est une occasion de revenir aux sources et de remettre en cause ses pratiques dans un domaine donné. L'étude Bégin/Caplan est une des rares occasions qui permet aux ontariennes et ontariens de cette génération d'exprimer publiquement leurs attentes par rapport à leur système d'éducation.

L'étude Bégin/Caplan invite les citoyens à s'exprimer sur quatre grands domaines d'intérêt en éducation :
a)   la responsabilité de l'éducation,
b)   l'organisation de notre système scolaire,
c)   le programme des écoles ontariennes, et
d)   les buts et l'orientation de notre système scolaire.

L'ACFO régionale d'Ottawa-Carleton remercie les commissaires de les recevoir et de les écouter. Notre association s'intéresse au bien-être général de la population de langue Française de la région. En conséquence, cette présentation ne portera pas sur chacun des thèmes mentionnés ci-haut; nous sommes conscients que tous ceux-ci seront traités par des groupes dont les intérêts éducatifs sont plus spécifiques que les nôtres. Dans l'ensemble la présentation qui suit est d'ordre plus général. Suite à un court énoncé de principes, nous traiterons dans un premier temps, des buts ou finalités de l'éducation, dans un deuxième, de la recherche de structures de gestion capable des les atteindre. Ensuite nous traiterons de deux sujets plus spécifiques soient la mise en place de centres scolaires et communautaires et l'uniformisation des méthodes comptables des conseils scolaires.

1-   Énoncé de principes

L'Association Canadienne Française de l'Ontario région Ottawa-Carleton réitère d'une part, son appui inconditionnel vis-à-vis des droits constitutionnels acquis des Canadiens de minorité officielle, tout particulièrement ceux de la communauté de langue française de l'Ontario. En effet, l'ACFO réagirait d'une manière très négative à tout atteinte aux droits linguistiques et au droit à des écoles séparées confessionnelles tels que garantis par l'article 23 de la Charte des droits et libertés individuelles, l'article 93 de la Constitution Canadienne et la jurisprudence dont ces textes ont fait l'objet au cours des années. L'ACFO souhaite que la Commission d'étude trouve un moyen d'étendre les droits de gérance de leur système éducatif à tous les Francophones de la province. Si notre présentation ne porte pas sur ces questions spécifiques, c'est qu'elles ont été abordées dans d'autres mémoires qui vous ont ou qui vous seront présenté.

D'autre part, l'ACFO croit que toute recommandation émanant de votre groupe d'étude devrait s'inspirer des grands principes de gestion et de financement scolaire qui préconise l'équité, l'efficacité administrative, l'adéquation des ressources et de redevabilité des intervenants. Les commissaires savent qu'il existe encore d'énormes disparités dans le financement de l'éducation en Ontario. Les revenus de la taxe foncière de base sont près de dix fois plus élevés dans certains conseils scolaires que dans d'autres. Certains conseils scolaires ont à peine accès aux revenus de l'impôt foncier commercial et industriel. L'ACFO croit qu'un effort devrait être fait pour réduire significativement les différences de revenus et en conséquence la variabilité des dépenses entre les conseils de la province; idéalement il est souhaitable que les dépenses encourues pour l'éducation soient les mêmes d'un conseil à l'autre. En dernière analyse, les dépenses d'éducation ne devraient pas être fonction de la richesse locale. Le support financier à l'éducation devrait être adéquat et la gestion financière, transparente au point où les conseils scolaires utiliseraient tous les mêmes codes de postes budgétaires. Ceci permettrait des comparaisons entre conseils. Cette recommandation fut faite par la commission MacDonald en 1986.

2-   Les buts et finalités de l'éducation
En Ontario, il semble exister un consensus en regard des buts ou tout au moins des finalités

ultimes de l'éducation. Les études récentes mettent en évidence certaines divergences mais celles-ci se situent surtout aux niveaux des nuances, d'accents, de l'importance relative à accorder à certains choix et non en regard du bien fondé de choix fondamentaux quant aux programmes d'études et aux d'activités pédagogiques. Plusieurs études récentes ont mis en évidence les valeurs dominantes de la société ontarienne contemporaine : la recherche de l'excellence, le souci d'équité et de justice, la poursuite d'un niveau de compétence minimal, etc. (Blishen, 1990; Desjarlais & Michaud, 1992; Conseil économique du Canada, 1992; Conference Board du Canada, 1992).

Toutes ces études se rejoignent suffisamment pour permettre un consensus dans les domaines cognitifs, sociaux et moteurs. Dans l'ensemble ces études demandent que l'école soit un milieu de vie respectueux des valeurs humaines, démocratiques et sociales.

Il n'en demeure pas moins que le système scolaire de l'Ontario comme celui de maintes provinces éprouve des difficultés; chez les Franco-ontariens le taux d'abandons scolaires est élevé, la performance moyenne des étudiants en sciences et en mathématiques est inférieure aux attentes, le taux d'accès aux études supérieures tout particulièrement aux études collégiales et techniques n'est pas celui souhaité et ce, malgré la multiplication des institutions de niveau post-secondaire. Dans une perspective d'équité financière, certains groupes sociaux ou religieux ne bénéficient pas des mêmes avantages éducatifs que d'autres. Enfin, il existe certains tiraillements entre les conseils scolaires, voire un manque de collaboration, une compétitivité excessive et un manque de flexibilité de la part des cadres scolaires en poste. Les enseignantes et enseignants doivent implanter certains programmes du Ministère de l'éducation tels que : les années de transition, le programme d'études commun; ils sont responsables de l'atteinte des objectifs d'apprentissage en mathématiques, en français et en sciences naturelles et sociales. De plus, ces programmes prônent une approche pédagogique nouvelle qui implique des stratégies différentes allant jusqu'à un changement du bulletin. Les études technologiques sont valorisées dans le programme d'études commun, pourtant aucun progamme n'assure la formation des enseignants dans de domaine. Enfin, certains conseils scolaires éprouvent des difficultés financières sérieuses, d'autres s'endettent malgré des plans ambitieux de redressement financier.

Pourtant depuis 1970, les effectifs scolaires ont diminué appréciablement, alors que les dépenses per capita pour fins d'éducation élémentaire et secondaire ont augmenté à un taux plus grand que le taux d'inflation. L'augmentation des dépenses fut particulièrement grande au niveau des cadres scolaires : plusieurs conseils scolaires ont embauché un personnel cadres si grand que leurs éffectifs de gestion dépassent ceux des ministères de l'éducation de certaines provinces. Ces constats amènent se demander si nos législateurs, malgré leurs bonnes intentions, n'ont pas créé un système d'éducation dont les structures, en cours de croissance, ont agit dans le sens contraire des objectifs poursuivis.

En dernière analyse, il importe de rappeller que pour les Franco-ontariens, les préoccupations financières et administratives seront toujours subordonnées à la qualité de l'enseignement de la langue et à la transmission de leur héritage culturel. L'école Franco-ontarienne est perçue par ses parrains comme le seul milieu de vie qui puisse assurer leur survie. L'école qui n'est pas un foyer d'animation culturelle, l'école qui ne transmet pas la fierté de l'héritage historique ne saura jamais répondre aux aspirations profondes de la minorité de langue française.

3-   La recherche de structures adaptées

Les conseils scolaires tels que nous les connaissons sont des institutions nord américaines qui remontent au XVIIIème siècle, en Europe à la même époque, les écoles étaient de type paroissial ou privées. Historiquement, à cause de l'importance de la participation et de l'autonomie locale en éducation, les gouvernements ont rendu les conseils scolaires responsables de la prestation de l'enseignement sur un territoire donné. Dans leur perspective initiale, le rôle des ministères de l'éducation était effacé, il se situait au niveau de la programmation, de l'inspection et d'interventions

ponctuelles. Dans plusieurs provinces, la création d'un ministère de l'éducation a suivi de plusieurs années la création des conseils scolaires.

Des contraintes historiques et la conjoncture économique ont amené d'une part, les conseils scolaires à se regrouper et d'autre part une plus ample participation financière de la part du ministère de l'éducation. Ces changements sont devenus nécessaires suite à la l'obligation d'offrir des programmes universellement accessibles au palier secondaire, de rendre disponible une formation professionnelle et un enseignement spécial aux élèves qui en avaient besoin.

Au cours des années 1960-1970 les structures scolaires de l'Ontario ont évolué dans le même sens que celles des autres provinces; il y a eu le rapport Byrnes au Nouveau-Brunswick, le rapport Parent et l'Opération 55 au Québec, le rapport Hall-Dennis et le Plan Robart en Ontario, le Rapport Worth en Alberta, etc. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire qu'à compter de 1970, une éducation publique élémentaire et secondaire était disponible partout au Canada. A cette époque, on a dû faire des choix de structures propices et efficaces pour assurer la prestation des services selon notre culture, nos lois et traditions en matière d'éducation.

Vingt-cinq ans après la mise en place de ces recommandations, il est pertinent de se demander si les raisons qui ont milité en faveur des structures dont nous avons hérité sont encore valides à l'ère des communications, de la télématique et de la mondialisation de l'économie. L'Ontario n'est pas la seule province à se questionner en ce sens; des expériences de gestion scolaire alternative sont présentement tentées aux États-Unis, dans l'ouest canadien, en Australie et au Royaume-Uni.

En Ontario, conformément à l'article 93 de l'ABN on a respecté le droit aux écoles confessionnelles et plus récemment, suite à l'adoption de la Charte Canadienne des droits et libertés individuelles, on a accordé un droit limité de gérance aux minorités de langue officielle. Les dernières années ont permis la mise sur pied du Conseil des écoles publiques de la Communauté urbaine de Toronto, du Conseil scolaire de langue française d'Ottawa-Carleton, du Conseil des écoles séparées catholiques de langue française de Prescott-Russell.

En conséquence, dans la région d'Ottawa Carleton, cinq (six, si on compte les deux sections du CSLFOC) conseils scolaires se partagent les élèves. Ceci a eu pour effet de multiplier les institutions scolaires et les moyens de prestation de services : chaque conseil s'occupe jalousement du transport, des services informatiques, de la dotation, de la programmation, de la comptabilité. Les nouvelles institutions se sont ajoutées comme des appendices aux structures existantes.

L'ACFO croit que les malaises du système sont surtout la résultante de l'évolution historique des institutions scolaires. Voilà pourquoi nous croyons que toute révision ou réforme du système scolaire doit en premier lieu remonter aux objectifs ultimes de l'éducation. Suite à une telle réflexion, il sera possible d'identifier les services éducatifs désirés et de déterminer le palier auquel ces derniers doivent être offerts.

En effet, il est possible que certains services de gestion, qui ont peu à faire avec l'éducation : paye, achats, transport, puissent être efficacement gérés sur une base régionale, voire même provinciale. Il pourrait y avoir des avantages pédagogiques à la création de programmes d'études provinciaux. Des programmes de base (en mathématiques, en langue, en sciences naturelles et humaines, etc.) pourraient être prescrits en termes d'objectifs comportementaux observables et mesurables. Dans d'autres milieux, une décentralisation au niveau de l'école a favorisé une pédagogique plus créatrice, une saine gestion et une plus grande efficacité.

Sans aller au point de définir les responsabilités de chaque palier de la structure scolaire, l'ACFO souhaite ardemment une remise en question fondamentale des compétences de chacun. Comme groupe voué à la représentation des francophones, nous sommes ouverts à une ré-affectation rationnelle majeure des responsabilités des différents intervenants du monde scolaire. Toutefois,

certaines mises en garde s'imposent, au nom de la rationnalité ou en invoquant des impératifs économiques, il faudrait éviter d'entasse des élèves francophones dans des autobus où le chauffeur ne peut communiquer avec eux dans leur langue; il ne faudrait pas non plus demander aux élèves de langue française de s'inscrire dans des écoles bilingue perçue comme lieu d'assimilation; enfin, on ne peut négliger l'importance de l'animation et de la vie culturelle propre à la mission de toute école conçue pour la minorité de langue française.

4- Le concept de centre scolaire et communautaire

Le concept de centre scolaire et communautaire correspond à plus qu'à la simple fusion des concepts d'école et de centre communautaire ou culturel. Le centre scolaire et communautaire, en plus d'offrir à la population qu'il déssert les services normalement dévolus à ces deux types d'organisations, veut être une institution culturelle régionale avec laquelle toute une minorité ethnique et linguistique peut s'identifier. Tout en étant une institution publique, le centre scolaire et communautaire est appelé à regrouper la communauté sensiblement de la même manière que le faisaient les centres paroissiaux en milieux ruraux autrefois : école, centre communautaire, terrains de jeux, lieu de rencontres de différentes organisations, etc. Dans une perspective contemporaine, un tel centre peut offrir des services beaucoup plus diversifiés et faire preuve d'une plus grande flexibilité : services de santé, de garderie, centre de jour pour adultes, camp d'été, bibliothèque, discothèque, vidéothèque, aide juridique, etc.

Contrairement aux centres communautaires traditionnels, l'école devient l'organisation première dans un centre scolaire et communautaire. Celle-ci peut être une école élémentaire, secondaire confessionnelle ou publique et elle relève habituellement de l'autorité d'un conseil scolaire local. Elle a sa propre direction. C'est l'école de la minorité qui entretient le centre. De par définition, l'école poursuit des objectifs d'apprentissage, de l'ordre de l'acquisition de savoirs, de savoirs-être et de savoirs-faire. Dans un milieu qui sert aussi de centre communautaire et culturel, l'acquisition de l'héritage culturel, des valeurs et des attitudes qui leurs sont chères peuvent être de beaucoup rehaussés. Elle se fait dans un milieu plus riche du point de vue culturel et respectueux de cette identité. Les possibilités du centre scolaire sont renforcées grâce à la mission communautaire du centre dont tous les organismes visent à la fois à assurer la survie culturelle et à favoriser l'intégration à long terme de ses élèves dans la société civile et politique nationale. Un contexte favorable à la poursuite de ces objectifs n'est pas toujours facile à trouver, a fortiori en milieu urbain où la minorité représente souvent moins de 10% de la population d'une région. La cohabitation, sous un même toit, de plusieurs institutions toutes militantes dans le sens des valeurs chères à la communauté ne peut donc que favoriser un tel épanouissement des élèves.

Tout centre communautaire dans une communauté francophone hors-Québec vise à devenir la première institution autour de laquelle toute la communauté de langue française pourrait s'identifier.

Un centre scolaire et communautaire pourrait préférablemment être logé dans une école secondaire. Un tel choix favoriserait une exploitation efficace des lieux :

1- Les salles de classe, après les heures régulières pourraient être utilisées pour des réunions, pour l'éducation des adultes, pour des ateliers artistiques et culturels.

2- Les gymnases et les terrains de jeux pourraient servir à la communauté en général pour des fins sociales, récréatives et culturelles

3- les fonctions de la bibliothèque seraient élargies afin de répondre aux besoins élargis de la communauté.

Du point de vue administratif, il y aurait lieu de penser en termes d'une structure administrative flexible respectueuse des contraintes juridiques imposées par la municipalité, le conseil scolaire, la province et le gouvernement fédéral.

Il en est de même du point de vue financier, il n'existe aucun organisme de l'état qui subventionne les centres scolaires et communautaires, cependant un certain nombre des activités proposées pour ce centres se qualifient sous différentes rubriques pour de l'aide soit de la municipalité, de différents ministères provinciaux ou fédéraux. Certains autres activités peuvent aussi être autofinancées : librairie, projets spéciaux, etc.

L'ACFO régionale d'Ottawa-Carleton, regarde avec faveur la mise sur pied de centres scolaires et communautaires dans toutes les régions de la province où des minorités de langue officielle pourraient en bénéficier.

5- La transparence financière

Dès 1986 la Commission MacDonald proposait une uniformisation des procédures comptables des conseils scolaires en Ontario. C'était selon eux la seule manière d'en arriver à comparer les coûts des différents services, et de juger du mérite de différentes décisions administratives et surtout de favoriseer la mise en commun de pratiques administratives efficaces. L'ACFO-régionale Ottawa-Carleton croit que les procédures comptables devraient être rigoureusement uniforme dans toutes les conseils scolaires de la province.

Recommandations

L'ACFO régionale d'Ottawa-Carleton fait donc les recommandations suivantes:

1- Que toute modifications aux règles de financement de l'éducation tienne compte des besoins particuliers de la population de langue française.

2- Que tout changement de structures administratives soit justifié à partir des finalités et objectifs de l'éducation et non à partir d'impératifs économiques ou administratifs.

3- Que dans chaque régions de la province où le nombre le justifie, la population de langue française ait accès à un centre scolaire et communautaire

4- Qu'il y ait une plus grande uniformité et transparence dans les méthodes comptables utilisées par les différents conseils scolaires.

Réflexions et suggestions concernant l'administration et le financement de l'éducation

Reflections and Suggestions with Respect to Educational Business Administration and Finance in Ontario

Reflections and Suggestions with Respect to Educational Business Administration and Finance in Ontario

In Ontario the annual cost of elementary and secondary education is in excess of 14 billion dollars. The province is one of the constituencies in the world with the highest number of educational administrators per pupil (elected or appointed). Data is available on the growth, during the last decades, of educational administrative personnel in the province. One must remember that in some provinces school trustees receive no salaries. Per pupil cost of education in Ontario, is among the highest in the world while results on standardized tests (whatever they mean) are, for the least, not impressive.

In an era when resources were plentiful, this situation caused no problems. After all, education is an important time in one's life and it is a most important activity in a modern society; why should it not be a most pleasant experience regardless of cost? Children spend a third of their lives in schools and educators are among the most respected citizens in our communities.

Modern administrative practices have shown however that the quality of process does not insure quality of the product. There should be better reasons to invest in education than simply to make it a pleasant experience for all involved. There are educational administrative practices elsewhere that seem to achieve comparable educational objectives in a more economic and efficient manner. Thus, this paper will raise questions and make suggestions about practices in educational administration and finance inspired from experiences in other countries, other Canadian provinces and in American states. This paper is not presented as a scientific reflection, it is simply a series of pragmatic suggestions or alternate solutions to the present situation.

1. Funding Education Equitably

In Ontario the educational finance formulae is a *modulated foundation program,* local taxpayers make a basic effort (approximately 5 mills per panel) in order to qualify for the basic grant of recognized ordinary expenditures per pupil. This basic grant is adjusted (modulated) to meet the special needs of different groups: official language, northern communities, etc.

The literature speaks of equity, adequacy, efficiency and accountability in educational finance.

Equity may be defined in different perspectives: the taxpayer and the student. It may refer to: simple access to education, equal treatment or fulfillment of special needs (handicapped, learning disability, etc.).

1.1 Property assessment and tax perception

From an equity perspective some of the recommendations of the Ontario Fair Tax Commission have merit. Assessment of real estate in the province could be done in a uniform manner throughout the province. Either market value or a space equivalent formula would be an acceptable alternative. Furthermore nothing prevents the perception of property tax at the regional or provincial levels instead of at the municipal. With the help of modern technology such a practice would result in important savings.

1.2 Use of property taxes

Historically, property taxes have been allocated for educational and municipal services. Nothing prevents the implementation of uniform assessment and taxation rates throughout the province for educational purposes. Why not consider a provincial property tax of 1 or 1.5 mills for educational purpose? If such a tax is not sufficient to cover the cost of education, the provincial income tax, or the provincial sale tax could be adjusted consequently. It may not be a good idea for education to evacuate completely the field of property tax.

1.3 Distribution of funds to school boards

In recent years the Educational Finance Reform Commission has attempted to define a list of basic educational services to be publicly supported in the province. Such a list of services should serve as the basis for the distribution by the Ministry of Education and Training of per pupil grants in an equitable manner. These should take into account the needs of special populations: minorities, small constituencies, distant centers, etc., by using weighting factors.

1.4 Local initiatives

At present, nothing prevents school boards from raising property taxes. In the interest of accountability, tax raises for educational purposes should be approved in some way or another by local taxpayers and should be affected to specific purposes, not to the basic list of services. Two such purposes could be: the provision of taxpayers approved services not covered in the list of basic educational services in the province or the services that the province would like to promote by offering to match the local effort.

Uniform property assessment, centralized tax perception, maintenance of the property tax for educational purposes, equitable formula for the distribution of funds according to needs, the limiting and obligation of accountability for all board financial initiatives would render the Ontario educational finance system more equitable.

2. Managing education efficiently

There are many means of becoming more efficient in educational business administration in the Province. Article 91 of the British North America Act and Article 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom define religious and linguistics right in education in Canada. Over the years the implementation of these provisions has been devolved to local boards of education. In Ontario, since the Hall Dennis Report, boards of education have grown in size and have assumed many responsibilities that could conceivably be offered by other instances without prejudices to constitutional rights : curriculum services, personnel services, transportation, purchasing, plan maintenance and services.

2.1 Educational program management

Most Canadian provinces, most American states and most modern industrialized countries have a much more centralized program of studies than Ontario, especially in the case of elementary schools. At present, elementary teachers have a very large degree of latitude in what is taught from kindergarten to grade 8. In many instances, within a single school, teachers at the same grade level teach different contents. In other school, program of studies have not been revised in years or are simply non existent. Moreover the duration of the basic training in education for Ontario teachers is only one year, compared with two, three or four in other Canadian provinces. At present ministerial use of educational jargon like *bench marks* , *years of formation, years of transition years of specialization* can be considered at best as fuzzy concepts. Do boards of education have the resources? Are teachers really prepared to function in such a context and can the province afford such decentralized curriculum practices?

Core program. The Commission should consider the merits of a uniform core program for schools of both official languages. The core program should cover mother tongue, second language, mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences and arts education. This program should be defined in terms of behavioral and measurable objectives for each grade level.

Province wide testing. The Commission should consider the merits of an annual province wide testing program at the end of each educational cycle (grades 3, 6, 9 and 12). Results of each

school could be made public.

School initiatives. Arguments in favor of the present system refer to creativity and the meeting of individual needs, the proposed arrangement would respect teachers and principals right to offer the contents in a creative manner. The pedagogy should be more responsive to special needs. Teachers would be freed for this purpose. School initiative would be concerned when and how to teach the prescribed content. They should be guided by a vision of education, and concerned with special needs, cultural and conjectural adaptation of programs. At the same time they would be responsible to insure the transmission of a core academic content expected to be mastered by all students in a modern industrial society.

In other words, with the advent of modern technology, the Ministry of Education and Training could undertake efficiently some of the curriculum responsibilities presently assumed by the educational services divisions of the more than 160 school boards. This would permit the hiring of the most qualified personnel and some of the personnel presently employed in these services could assume greater supervisory responsibilities in the schools

2.2 Management of educational support

The management of education requires a number of support services : purchasing, accounting, maintenance, transportation, personnel services, etc. These support services must be offered regardless of the type of school system : English, French. Public, Separate. It seems that if a more efficient manner of offering these services was proposed, it would not affect fundamental rights to education.

The following are questions that incite one to think that important savings could be realized by integrating some support services to education at the regional or provincial levels:

Could purchasing of educational supplies be done more efficiently if done centrally or regionally? Would this practice permit economies of size?

Could collective bargaining be done at the provincial level more efficiently than at each board level?

Some Canadian provinces pay all teachers through the computerized accounting service of their Ministry of Education, no cheques are late, and there are no more errors than in Ontario. Could accounting and payroll be better handled centrally or regionally in the province?

The duplication of bus routes and services, when school boards cover the same territory and when a municipal transportation service exist should be studied. Compared to other provinces school transportation in Ontario is expensive.

At present, each board has its own computer system and its network of experts to operate it; this seems an area where pooling of resources could provide long term savings.

Similar questions should be asked about the maintenance of school properties. These are public properties, could they be used more efficiently? Could the same people responsible for the maintenance of municipal building and properties be also responsible for schools?

The sharing of educational facilities with municipalities and vice versa may also represent major savings. Particularly the case of school community centers requested by members of official minorities throughout the province should be considered.

In other words, is it time to study the possibilities offered by either umbrella boards, regional

offices or the privatization of some educational business administration services? One cannot count on the present boards to form consortiums as suggested by the Bourne Commission in the Ottawa Carleton area. The experience of the Ottawa-Carleton CSLFOC is ample proof of this kind of behavior. Many people believe that a more efficient structure to support the school business administrative aspects of education would result in major savings, and that it would cause no prejudices to the acquired rights of protected groups. And possibly, it would free specialized educational personnel to deal with educational matters.

3.   New roles and new institutions

Since the Hall-Dennis Commission, the academic qualifications of educational personnel in Ontario has risen continuously. Ontario's teachers and educational administrators are better qualified than ever before. During the same period, with the end of the baby boom era, school enrollment has diminished. It has now stabilized or it is slightly on the rise. The rate of school drop outs and the academic performance of students on standard tests has not improved significantly.

One can question the roles of this better qualified educational personnel. Has it assumed more responsibilities? Generally the teacher-pupil ratio is near an all time high, and the administrative personnel has multiplied dramatically since 1970. The personnel of some school board offices in Ontario is more numerous than the personnel in departments of education in many Canadian provinces. The number of elected educational officials, is in many areas, as large as the number of members of parliament in eastern or western canadian provinces. This is not to say that the additional services that are proposed are not valuable, but could it be that they are so entangled in an administrative maze as not to be beneficial to the student at the classroom level? In some school boards, can policies and procedures be so complex and so inefficient as to defeat their purpose?

Recently, most organizations that went through a restructuration process, have tried to simplify their structure, to decentralize, to eliminate levels in the administrative hierarchy, to make people accountable and responsible. Intermediate levels of administration have been eliminated or at least their roles have been reduced. It may be time to ask similar questions about the management of education in the province. Thus the following interrogations.

3.1   The school: a focal institution

Consistency in the decentralization of both business management and educational administration responsibilities demands that the schools be governed by some kind of local board or school council modelled on either: comités d'écoles in Québec or local education authorities in the United Kingdom or other. Many parents group are presently making this demand simply because they find the present structures too heavy and unresponsive. The authority of these bodies would have to be defined in a revised Education Act. They could, among other things, guaranty the responsiveness of the school to the local community needs, define the school's particular mission and take on most educational functions presently assumed to school boards. This can be considered as devolution of educational functions to the school level.

School councils could be composed of elected parents and/or teachers and/or students in secondary schools. A school unit, particularly in urban areas where the concept of small community school is cherished, may be constituted of more than one building. There may be elementary and/or secondary school units each with its own council.

3.2   The school principal

Considering the qualifications and salaries of school principals, they should assume greater administrative responsibilities. Principals could be the chief educational officer of the school unit.

They should be accountable for the general administration, business administration and finance, and educational programs. With minimal additional clerical personnel and possibly an assistant principal, this could be possible. Experience in other countries has shown that usually principals can manage their school budgets, administer their schools and assume supervisory responsibilities much more efficiently than board office personnel.

The British experience has demonstrated that with 15% more overall resources, school councils and principals turned out to be much more efficient than large Local Educational Authorities (LEA) which corresponds to school boards in Canada. This is much less than the cost of supporting school board offices.

In summary, school principals are presently prepared to assume a greater leadership role, why not explore this possibility?

3.3   School Boards

School boards are middle management, in this modern era, some of the functions they assume (mostly educational and program management) can be devoluted to the school level and others (educational business management) centralized at the regional or provincial levels. No board exists to supervise the management of public buildings by the ministries of transport, health, etc.; why could it not be the same in education?

School boards could be strictly assigned functions of boards of education. Historically, this was their raison d'être. They could assume supervisory responsibilities over a wide territory. The boards could be composed of elected delegates from the school councils and serve a very large territory. They could be divided along linguistic and religious lines. For example, why not four school boards for eastern Ontario : one English-language public, one English-language separate, one French-language public and one French-language separate?

Summary and conculsions

In summary, it may well be that the present educational administrative structures, that answered relatively well to the needs of the previous generation became too unwieldy and need major modifications. When one looks at educational major administrative functions: business administration, curriculum development, school community relations, supervision, etc. all are necessary, the question to ask in this era of economic restraints is how can the necessary services be provided in a most efficient manner? Once that question is answered, implimentation requires the political will to proceed. This last aspect has been ignored in this presentation.

Summary and Analysis of Recent Literature on Parental Roles in Educational Governance

Elizabeth Savard Muir

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Muir, Elizabeth Savard.

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(Sommaire et analyse de ce qui s'est écrit récemment sur le rôle des parents en matière de gestion de l'éducation), décembre 1993.

Muir notes that the literature shows many attempts at involving parents in many different ways in the schools, from participation in the classroom to governance of the schools. This paper examines some of the governance programs that include parents, such as those in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and New Zealand.

From her research, Muir has found that parental involvement in governance, in public education systems, is moving from consultative, advisory roles to power-based relationships with professionals. The literature is clear that there are many opportunities for parents to become involved, but there is growing evidence that unless parents are given "real" power over their children's education, the changes that seem to be needed will not happen. She finds that the literature is clear that changes that shift the balance of power to the consumers (parents) must be accompanied by an examination and reform of the existing structures. The new emerging power structures require not only special support mechanisms, but also sufficient financial resources to enable decision makers to carry out their responsibilities. Equally important, new responsibilities without clear guidelines and definitions of roles and duties may endanger the very reforms that were planned, and in this case, the parents may become vulnerable if these changes fail. The site of power in education appears to be becoming more decentralized. To accommodate this change, administrators and elected officials must perceive their roles as facilitators for community-based groups. Otherwise the system will be plagued by useless power struggles leading no where.

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Madame Muir remarque que les documents montrent que l'on a souvent essayé de faire participer les parents à la vie de l'école, et ce, de nombreuses façons allant de la participation à la salle de classe àla gestion des écoles. Ce document se penche sur certains programmes de gestion scolaire qui incluent les parents, comme ceux du Canada, des États-Unis, de la Grande-Bretagne et de la Nouvelle-Zélande.

Ses recherches ont permis à Madame Muir de constater que la participation des parents à la gestion scolaire, dans les systèmes d'éducation publique, est en train d'évoluer, et que le rôle consultatif est en train de se transformer pour déboucher sur des rapports de pouvoir avec des professionnels. Les documents prouvent amplement que les parents ont de nombreuses occasions de participer. Cependant, on se rend de plus en plus compte que si l'on ne donne pas aux parents un pouvoir «réel» sur l'éducation de leurs enfants, les changements qui semblent nécessaires ne se produiront pas. Elle trouve que les textes montrent clairement que les changements qui transfèrent l'équilibre du pouvoir aux consommateurs (parents) doivent être accompagnés d'un examen et d'une réforme des structures actuelles. Les structures de pouvoir émergentes nécessitent non seulement des mécanismes de soutien spéciaux, mais aussi des ressources financières suffisantes pour permettre aux décideurs de s'acquitter de leurs responsabilités. Tout aussi important, toutes nouvelles responsabilités non assorties de lignes directrices claires et d'une définition des rôles et des fonctions risquent de menacer les réformes prévues. Dans un pareil cas, si les réformes échouent, ce sont les parents qui risquent de devenir vulnérables. Le pouvoir en éducation semble se centraliser davantage. Pour faire face à cette évolution, les administratrices et administrateurs de même que les représentantes et représentants élus devront percevoir leur rôle comme un rôle de facilitateur pour les groupes communautaires. Si tel n'est pas le cas, le système sera caractérisé par des luttes de pouvoir vaines qui ne mèneront nulle part.

Summary and Analysis of Recent Literature on Parental Roles in Educational Governance

Contents

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Elizabeth Savard Muir Ed.D

This unprecedented reform is based on a sense that the solution to the problem in a democracy is more democracy, that people with the problems are also the people with the solution, and that experience in changing things will bring wisdom to the next steps. Our options are open, lighthouses of hope and possibility are beginning to be put in place, long term change can proceed from a base of support. Can we do it? (Ayres,1991: 71)

Introduction

Much has been tried and written about parental involvement in the education of children. This involvement has spanned the spectrum of participation in the classroom and parenting support programs, to ownership and administration in parent participation preschool and daycare centres, and private and co-operative schools in the public system. As the following review and analysis will show, there have been many attempts at involving parents in the governance of public systems of education, moving from advisory and consultative roles to roles with "real" power and control, not only in Canada and the United States, but also in other countries such as Great Britain and New Zealand. Within the time constraints for this project, the summary and analysis will examine some of governance programs. Starting with a look at initiatives in the United States and other countries, the review will focus on those Canadian provinces which have legislation in place for parental involvement in governance. After the concluding comments, some recommendations will be offered for consideration. Supporting documents include some exemplary case studies, copies of legislation dealing with governance structures, and a chart highlighting various configurations.

The United States

During the seventies and eighties, site-based management initiatives were established in several communities in the United States. (Fruchter et al, 1993). In the early eighties, Joyce Epstein made the point that involving parents in their children's learning was recognized as "necessary and important" by committees which reported to the United States National Commission on Excellence in Education and the 1983 Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy. Parental involvement, at this time, tended to be in school activities (PTA), children's homework and family support programs (Comer, 1988) with, as yet, little legislated participation in school governance. (Epstein, 1984: 70)

Most contemporary school administrators would agree that community involvement is a trend that is here to stay. What we lack, it seems, is not enthusiasm toward community involvement, but substantive experience in effectively managing it. (Miller, 1983: 71)

As Miller pointed out, the literature in the early eighties dealt mainly with operational topics. He examined the essential skills and knowledge needed for a member of a CAC (Citizen Advisory Council) and developed a list of skills in areas of fiscal management, programming, use of facilities, community resources use, publicity, and administration of program. He concluded that by focusing on " the essential skills and knowledge of members, the CAC might well produce more effective CACs. " (Miller, 1983: 73)

Towards the middle of the eighties, there was a move to grant parents more participatory power in American educational governance. For instance in 1985, the legislation in Massachusetts created School Improvement Councils and, in 1987, a program to fund school-based management. (Fraser, 1988: 50). Reforms were also undertaken in Detroit and the state of California. Another example was the introduction of the Parent Involvement Program (PIP) in 1987 by the City of New York.

This program was designed to help schools build a parent involvement program using networks, community groups and the open-school concept for parents.

Some New York City programs were moving away from the traditional associations of parents to district-wide networks of parents who work in schools, communicate and support one another.

This concept of communitarian networking is very much the way urban parent involvement should go. The commitment should be total; district personnel, from top to bottom must be involved. While the resources of this PIP came from the City of New York, through the district office and superintendent, the goal is to build parents into a network. While being Hispanic and speaking mostly Spanish was sometimes a limitation in working in schools and supporting them, with this approach these cultural and ethnic qualities become assets in relating to other parents and in helping the school get organized and relate to its community. (Jackson et al, 1989: 283)

During this period, parents were given a choice in New York City schools—the notion being that parents should be able to determine the kinds of schools their children attended. (Jackson and Cooper, 1989: 267)

The role of parents as consumers has a profound effect on the administration of schools. If parents are to have a choice, schools themselves must be free to innovate, change, and compete. . . . .Thus if parents become true 'consumers' school administrators must also become true `producers', having the right and ability to make their schools special, to recruit openly and forcefully for parent interest, and to organize their schools in various ways to reflect local markets. (Jackson et al, 1989: 269)

Jackson and Cooper (1989) recommended that education policy makers: commit to the family;_broaden definition of parent involvement ; use a variety of involvement strategies; bring all levels of the school into the process.

Some argue that parents are not the school's problem; that schools should concentrate on the children only. But as the research shows, schools succeed when parents are behind the school. And for families, particularly low-income, minority families, the school may be a perfect place to meet and help them. (Jackson et al, 1989: 284-85)

Three programs which deal specifically with parental participation in governance are described: Salt Lake City, City of Chicago and the State of Kentucky.

Salt Lake City, Utah

In 1988, site-based governance councils were introduced in Salt Lake City, Utah. These councils were composed of building administrators, teachers and parents at each school for " shared decision-making"and were seen as "the designated arena for professional-patron determination of school-level policy". These structures were formed in response to the notion that site-based governance would increase the ability of parents and school personnel to influence school policies—making the school "the unit of improvement and shared decision-making arrangements. . . " (Malen and Ogawa, 1988: 251). This program was nationally recognized as a model for site-based governance with broad jurisdiction, policymaking authority, parity protections and training provisions. Malen and Ogawa conducted a study of governance councils in Salt Lake City. They looked at whether these site-based councils did alter shared decision making relationships, and they found that their conclusions ran contrary to expectations.

First, although the site councils are authorized policymakers, they functioned as ancillary advisers and pro forma endorsers. Second, teachers and parents are granted parity, but principals and professionals controlled the partnerships. Third, although teachers and parents have access to

decisionmaking arenas, their inclusion has maintained, not altered, the decisionmaking relationships typically and traditionally found in schools. (Malen and Ogawa, 1988: 256)

For instance in virtually all schools, informants reported that the agenda 'is the directive of the principal.' (Malen and Ogawa, 1988: 257)

Principals were members of the council by virtue of their position and teacher members were elected by constituency elections. Parents were invited—usually recruited by the principal. The composition of the councils tended to be homogeneous.

Parent council members' perceptions tended to be that the principals saw them ". . . as channels for dispensing information, moderating criticisms and garnering support, not as arenas for redefining roles, sharing power, and making policy. Parents and teachers "joined the councils largely because they wished to be informed or felt obliged to serve. Membership was rarely issue-driven or change orientated." (Malen and Ogawa, 1988: 259)

Even though the parents in this study were well educated middle class experienced people, the professionals on these councils came with "formidable resources" and parents were reluctant to exert counter pressures in areas that were seen as professional concerns, and in which parents were not qualified to make decisions. The professionals came armed with the right resources to maintain the control and parents reported having liabilities in three areas: they lacked information about school activities and operations, they were unclear about the parameters of their power, and thirdly they had been invited, not elected. Then too, since the agenda for meetings was set by the professionals, the topics tended to be safe issues with an absence of controversial topics. Traditionally, certain areas had been defined as professional areas: budget, personnel, and program. Parents tended to understand their role as supporting professionals who managed these areas. Principals and teachers deliver—parents support.
Malen and Ogawa's study (1988) came to the following conclusions:

The study does not discount the importance of locating councils at the site and granting them broad jurisdiction, formal policymaking authority, parity protection and training options. However these conditions are not sufficient to create new patterns of decisionmaking.

Their research does cast doubt on the efficacy of site-based governance as a reform strategy—it underlines the problem of making arrangements which will alter principal, teacher and parent influence relationships.

They made the following recommendations to modify influence relationships:

councils be empowered with lump-sum budgets rather than discretionary funds; teachers and parents be granted principal selection and dismissal powers;
members need independent sources of information, more specific definition of roles and responsibilities, and options to have district policies waived;
special training regarding council dynamics is needed for teaching staff as well as parents.

Perhaps, as others argue, the professional-patron power equation cannot be changed unless and until parents are given consumer choice as well as consumer voice. (Malen and Ogawa, 1988: 266-67)

"The stark reality is that participation relates inextricably to power" (Taylor, 1988: 43)

City of Chicago

The reform in the Chicago schools moved parental governance to the forefront and into the nineties.

Chicago School Reform legislation was passed by the Illinois State Legislature in November,1988 and implemented in the summer of 1989. This unprecedented law gave parents substantial control over funds and personnel as well as strengthening the oversight authority over the Chicago Public Schools. The new law created the largest experiment in local control of education ever tried in the United States. (Norris, 1988) The system was to change from a bureaucratically managed system to a radically decentralized one. The reform act turned Chicago school governance upside down— and, in the process, empowered parents significantly by diluting the power of the central administration, school boards and places of authority. Hiring, planning curriculum and budgeting were turned over to local school councils—each made up of a majority of parents. (Rist, 1990: 21)

Chicago's approach to school reform is more than just another swing at decentralization. This is not power wrested from the central board and given to community boards. This is school-site governance—and a mandate to improve what goes on in each classroom—delivered into the hands of parents, teachers, and principals. (Rist, 1990: 21)

The Chicago School Reform Act created Local School Councils at 542 attendance centers. On an eleven member local school council (LSC) there are six parents (elected by parents of children in the school), two community representatives (elected by area residents), two faculty elected teachers and the principal. At the high school level one student is added; the student and principal do not have a vote. These new councils drew up their school's budget, decided which text books children would study and debated whether to put discretionary money into such things as maintaining and repairing the building, or hiring classroom aides and attendance officers.

This method of parental representation on the councils was designed so that the schools would be run by local people, as a safeguard against corruption or take-over by self-interest groups. The school councils were given powers to:

1. hire the principal and negotiate a four year performance contract—bringing an end to principal tenure.
2. draft school improvement plans consistent with federal and state regulations, free of city wide curriculum mandates.
3. control school budgets based on a lump sum and spend the funds consistent with their council's vision for change.

Further restructuring requires each LSC to elect a parent or community resident to serve on the subdistrict council which selects a subdistrict superintendent in charge of monitoring school improvement. The subdistrict council elects representatives to serve on the Board Nominating Commission which is an advisory Board to the Mayor of Chicago who appoints three members to the Board of Education. The Board of Education is in charge of (a) monitoring the use of state funds (b) implementing a set of districtwide curriculum standards sensitive to the cultural diversity of the City (c) helping LSCs with overcrowding, personnel training, and meeting university admissions criteria. (Rist, 1990).

A central service center (formerly called the Central Office), and district administrative staff are available to provide information and support to local school councils. The administration exists not to perpetuate its own rules and regulations but to create a support system for the local schools councils . One of the most significant powers of the LSCs is the hiring and firing of the principal. In the first year, some 50 of 270 councils decided to replace their principals, while others entered into contract negotiations.

As could be expected after one year's operation, Rist(1990) found that some councils were doing very well while others were floundering. There seemed to be obstacles in the way, dating from old ways of doing things.

This is school reform, Chicago style. The School Reform Act is novel in the extent to which it empowers parents. And unlike school-based management plans elsewhere-in Kentucky, for example, where the majority membership on school councils goes to teachers—Chicago school reform puts parents in the driver's seat. (Rist, 1990: 21-22)

This reform in Chicago was spearheaded by parents. They wanted to have the dominant voice in running local schools. Ayres (1991) writes that in October 1989, 310,000 Chicagoans turned out to elect representatives to newly formed Local School Councils.

The intent of the law is clear: power is to shift from a Byzantine central office to each local school site, and a command-style system is to be replaced by a democratic, radically decentralized one. The new model is to be a series of concentric circles with the school at the center, and circles of service, information, and resources available as needed. Under any circumstances, this kind of shift would be difficult and complex. In the Chicago context, the upheaval was sure to be dramatic and intense. (Ayres, 1991: 69)

As quoted at the beginning of this review, Ayres sums up the intent of the Chicago reform this way:

This unprecedented reform is based on a sense that the solution to the problem in a democracy is more democracy, that people with the problems are also the people with the solution, and that experience in changing things will bring wisdom to the next steps. Our options are open, lighthouses of hope and possibility are beginning to be put in place, longterm change can proceed from a base of support. Can we do it? (Ayres, 1991: 71)

What led to these dramatic changes in Chicago? Ayres found that the following problems were not unlike other urban settings:

- 50% of students who entered Chicago schools were dropping out or failed to graduate— of those who graduated only one third could read at grade level.
- reading scores in almost half of Chicago's schools were in the lowest one percent of the nation.
- about 35,000 students (or 11 percent) are absent on any given day and almost half of those absent students are chronically truant
- inequitable distribution of educational resources; stubborn will of a range of self-interested bureaucracies 'to work against any common purpose'; rigid unresponsive classroom culture; knowledge of and respect for students had failed the test of reality.
- the 1987 the teachers' strike (ninth strike in 18 years) which lasted a record 19 school days became a catalyst that 'forged a workable coalition of parents, community groups and business leaders.' This coalition hammered out a reform package and a successful legislative strategy. (Ayres, 1991: 69)

It is also interesting to note that the 1988 school reform in Chicago has increased the involvement of minorities in public school governance. (Rist, 1990: 5)

Some of the critics (Palanki, 1991) of the reform say: the school reform is without a vision for what effective schools look like; principals find LSCs process too time intensive and geared towards meetings that take up too much of their energy; parents are not qualified to make the kinds of decisions required to govern a school; the law does not specify who is authorized to make decisions not covered by the law. (Palanki, 1991: 4-6)

Whether or not Chicago school reform will improve student achievement remains to be seen. At any rate, the Chicago school reform movement has succeeded in bringing together diverse members for every echelon of the city for a single cause: rewriting the future of Chicago's kids. And, if nothing else, it should be recognized for accomplishing that amazing feat. (Rist, 1990: 6)

Heck (1992) writes that Chicago's fundamental restructuring (reallocation from centralized to radically decentralized of governance power) emphasized strong site leadership, somewhat like current corporate restructuring leading to decentralization. Previously there was a tendency to allocate more resources to supervisory services rather than to instruction.

The new system ensures participation in a variety of policy-making areas by different actors and it also encourages a variety of conflicts: state versus local control, legislative versus executive dominated governance. Also tension can emerge at the local level between lay versus professional control over educational policy making. (Heck, 1992: 216)

In an evaluation of the Chicago reforms in 1991, Hess found that some schools were doing very well while others were doing little and that the majority attacked important problems not directly related to instruction. Of the 14 schools he studied, three had plans that promised extensive instructional change, three had plans that looked like "fill in the boxes" and eight focused on important non-instructional issues such as gang problems, school discipline and over-crowding.

It is much too soon to declare either success or failure in the effort to reform the Chicago Public Schools. . . The reality of Chicago School Reform will not be described by events at the system's central offices and board room. The reality will be found in the improvement, or lack thereof, that happens at the city's local schools. (Hess, 1991: 16)

The current reform efforts on the part of policymakers at the higher levels of government must be given a chance to take hold at the local level if meaningful change is to occur. If school achievement gains follow the Chicago experiment, this may be a bellwether signaling the beginning of a new cycle of political governance that emphasizes community control in education policy making, especially in the nation's urban centers. (Heck, 1992: 4)

In 1990 Chicago's Principals' Association contested the reform law regarding lost of tenure. The reforms survived with some adjustments to parts of the law which were deemed unconstitutional. Norris notes that one of the main reasons for giving power to the parents through the legislation ". . . was to free the schools from the sort of political corruption that is endemic in Chicago, and which has bedeviled the decentralisation of schools in New York." (Norris, 1990: 13)

State of Kentucky

The Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990 was implemented in 1991-92 and is to be fully operational by 1996-97. The Kentucky legislature has mandated that school-based-decision-making (SBDM) be adopted statewide. At the school level, the governance for SBDM becomes the responsibility of a local school council formed for that purpose. The council is composed of two elected parents, three elected teachers, and the school principal who serves as a member and chairperson of the council but has no veto power over council decisions.

Van Meter (1991) writes that the authority is shifting from the central office to the school—both parents and teachers are assuming more responsibility in making decisions about school matters.

Under the new law, local school councils are authorized to determine and oversee several matters of school operation, including the development of school policies regarding the following:

1. Determination of curriculum, including needs assessment, curriculum development, alignment with state standards, technology utilization, and program appraisal within local school board's policy.
2. Assignment of all instructional and non-intructional staff time.

3. Assignment of students to classes and programs within the school.
4. Determination of the schedule of the school day and week, subject to the beginning and ending times of the school day and school calendar year as established by the school board.
5. Determination of use of school space during the school day.
6. Planning and resolution of issues regarding instructional practices.
7. Selection and implementation of discipline and classroom management techniques, including responsibilities of the student, parent, teacher, counsellor, and principal.
8. Selection of co-curricular programs and determination of policies relating to student participation based on academic qualifications and attendance requirements, program evaluation, and supervision.
9. Within available funds, to determine the number of persons employed in each job classification at the school; to determine which instructional materials and student support services shall be provided and used in the school, and, upon the retirement or transfer of the principal, to select a new principal from among a list of applicants recommended by the local school superintendent.
10 Authority regarding how operational funds allocated to the school are to be spent.

In sum, the Kentucky SBDM model envisions the local school council as a policy-making body for the school much as the local school board establishes policy for the school district. The council, however, must develop school policy only within the framework of existing district policy, and may become engaged in activities usually considered to be related more to administration than to policy (e.g. determining the use of school space during the school day, assigning students to classes and programs). (Van Meter, 1991: 54)

He raises these questions: Are school councils intended to be policy boards, school management councils, or some combination of the two? In other words, what is the relationship between local school boards and school councils?

Confusion about the intended relationship between local school boards and school councils focuses primarily on a seeming lack of clarity regarding the school councils' actual authority. What does it mean for the council to make policy, but only within the parameters of local school district policy? (Van Meter, 1991: 56)

Another factor of the Kentucky SBDM plan that makes it unique—and an aspect of reform and improvement that will undoubtedly be watched closely by educational policymakers and practitioners throughout the country—has to do with the assignment of rewards and sanctions to individual school based councils on the extent to which they either show improvements or fail to show improvements in student outcomes, as measured every two years. (Van Meter, 1991: 57)

As part of the overall Kentucky reform, a Council on School Performance Standards was created to develop student performance standards by subject and grade with a performance-based assessment procedure that is used statewide to measure student academic accomplishments and successes. These assessments will be used along with other success indicators such as dropout and retention rates to measure the success at each school in the state. This procedure is to be implemented no later than the 1995-96 school year.

Successful schools will receive monetary rewards for which staff members will decide how the money is to be spent on improvements. Unsuccessful schools will be required to develop and implement approved plans for improvement. (Van Meter, 1991: 58)

While sharing many features common to emerging site-based management designs, the Kentucky SBDM plan not only establishes local school councils but also a system of accountability of rewards and sanctions which could in part influence the kind of decisions that a local school council makes.

Academic excellence in urban schools is achieved by focusing on academic achievement, encouraging

parental involvement, and professional renewal. Children in these achieving schools are expected to learn, excel and participate in the intellectual enterprise, regardless of family background. School rarely can directly alter the socioeconomic status of students or their home environments; therefore, the effort to achieve academic excellence must be focused within educational institutions. (Glenn, 1992: 27)

Great Britain

The 1980 Education Act in Britain had stated for the first time, that there be at least two parent governors on each school governing board. In 1984, there was resistance to the British government's plan to give parents a built-in majority on school governing bodies. This was a policy which ". . . has been almost universally condemned by teacher and parent associations." (Passmore, 1984: 5) "While all welcome a bigger role for parents, they say that exchanging political domination of governing bodies for domination by parents will be no advance. Power should be shared among various interests." (Passmore,1984: 5). Even though parent teacher associations preferred a form of shared power or at least where the balance of power rested in combining parents and teachers, the government (Green Paper 1984) emphasized that ". . . it was the parents voice which needed reinforcing." (Passmore,1984: 5). At this time, the government was also pressing for more independent governing bodies (LEAS) This was interpreted as eroding the principle of local authority responsibility; some even thought this shift in powers to parents was leading them to think they were having more control over their schools, when in fact it was moving local education control towards Whitehall and the Manpower Commission—turning "parents into agents of government policy".

In 1986, the Education Reform Bill(known as the parent power charter in England and Wales) mandated that all county and maintained special schools be ruled by new governing bodies which took overall control away from local politicians, forcing them to share power with parents, teachers, members of the business community and other co-opted members. (Sutcliffe, 1988: 17). The 1986 Education Act completed what had been started with the 1980 Act in the area of parental involvement in governance.

Pascal (1988) in England conducted a study which investigated the system of democratized primary school governments, in which parents were prominent, after a three year period (1981-1985). She came to these conclusions:

The evidence from Birmingham primary schools confirms recent findings that in a largely undefined situation, governing bodies are struggling to make any real impact in traditional areas of governing body concern e.g. school conduct, curriculum, finance. On the basis of their failure here, governing bodies have been judged as irrelevant and superfluous to the contemporary system. However the study also found that primary school governing bodies were making a significant contribution in a number of new developing areas of concern e.g. liaison, monitoring, and support. (Pascal, 1988: 27)

Pascal concludes that some serious impediments to the effectiveness of governing bodies are: poor communication, lack of information, insufficient resources and inadequate support. Also power continues to be distributed unevenly between the various elements with lay members subordinate to professional bodies.

New Zealand

In 1988, for the first time in its educational history, the government introduced sweeping education reform—placing decision making as closely as possible to the point of implementation with the following features:

Schools became the basic "building blocks" of education administration, with control over their educational resources—to use as they determine, within overall guidelines for education set by the state.

The running of the local schools by a board of trustees is designed as a partnership between the professionals and the particular community in which it is located. Each institution sets its own objectives, within the overall national guidelines determined by the state. These objectives reflect the particular needs of the community in which the institution is located, and will be clearly set out in a charter drawn up by the institution. This charter acts as a contract between the community and the institution, and the institution and the state.

Institutions are accountable, through a nationally established Review and Audit Agency, for the government funds spent on education and for meeting the objectives set out in their charters. This agency carries out regular reviews of every institution.

Institutions are free to purchase services from a range of suppliers.

Community forums are set up to act as a place of debate and a voice for all those who wish to air their concerns—whether students, parents, teachers, managers or education administrators.

A Ministry of Education was established to provide policy advice to the Minister, to administer property, and to handle financial flows and operational activities. An independent Parent Advocacy Council was established. This council promotes the interests of parents generally and will, in particular, provides assistance and support to parents who are dissatisfied with existing arrangements to the extent that they wish to set up their own school.

Groups of parents representing at least 21 children are able to withdraw from existing arrangements and set up their own institution, provided that they meet the national guidelines for education.

Each board of trustees has five members nominated and elected by the parents of students, the principal, and one member elected by the staff; in the case of secondary school, one member elected by the student body, and such other co-opted members as the trustees think are needed to a maximum of four.

The board of trustees is the legal employer of teaching and support staff, and is responsible for staffing matters as well as appointing the principal. The funding is sent directly in a lump sum to the institutions, with the exception of teachers' salaries which are disbursed through separate payroll procedure.

In February 1993, the government published a discussion paper "Education for the 21st Century" as a national goal-setting exercise to create public debate about desired outcomes for the education of New Zealand's children into the 21st century. One of the features of this document is the recognition of "parents as first teachers" and the statement that early childhood education has too often been outside the 'mainstream' education system. "The Government believes that it must be part of an overall education strategy." (Ministry of Education,1993: 11) A final document integrating the ideas from community consultations on this discussion paper is forthcoming.

Canada

Canadian provinces have had a long history of parent-teacher organizations in schools (Home and School Associations). These are primarily volunteer organizations supporting school activities. It is only within the past twenty years, especially in the eighties, that Canadian parents have assumed decision-making roles which directly affect their children's schooling.

British Columbia's 1989 School Act set new directions for parental involvement in the province. Parents now have the right to educate their children in the public, or independent schools, or at home. They can choose from two entry dates with a delay of up to two entries. They have the right to expect consultations related to their children's education and to establish a Parent Advisory Council for each school—". . . . . to access the school and participate in decision-making related to the school and its activities." (Mort, 1990: 39)

Through school-parent advisory committees and district advisory committees, both parents and community groups may have a greater say in the decision making surrounding education. The shift is from a 'consultative' role commonly understood as 'ask and do your own thing' to 'advisory' role, often understood to mean ' listen, consider, decide, and be prepared to defend your decision.' The Act has equipped parents with the legislative opportunity to hold the system more accountable, while at the same time giving them the opportunity to share the power in running the system. (Hinds, 1989: 12)

Gleadow (1991) organized a forum in School District 46 to look at how parent advisory groups were functioning. Each school sent their principal and two members of the parent group. Three secondary and nine elementary schools were involved. He came to the following conclusion:

Schools are different from one another. There is no need, nor is it desirable, to have a detailed set of district-wide prescriptive statements defining roles and responsibilities which make the assumption that there is homogeneity across schools. At most, district policy should facilitate the formation of PACs. (Gleadow, 1991: 13)

Although parents are under no obligation to form PACs, a school board is obliged to establish one upon receipt of an application. (Martin, 1991: 69) Anita Hagen the Opposition Education Critic reasoned that the new law ". . . . .did not empower parents to be full participants in decision-making, as they had requested." (Martin, 1991: 70)

The other provinces which have legislated parental involvement in governance in place are Alberta, Quebec, and just this month (November, 1993) Newfoundland. Alberta passed a law in 1988 recognizing "the right of parents to make decisions respecting the education of their children." These parents may, if they wish, establish school councils to advise the principal of their school and the board in matters relating to their school. School Board may also delegate duties to local councils, which perform these duties or functions at their discretion.

In Quebec, parents have had a consultative role in decision-making at each school, district and regional levels mandated since 1972 when school committees were required at each school. These committees are composed of parents and the principal. The principal takes part, with no vote. One representative from each school committee sits on the parents' committee of the school board. If regional levels exist there are then regional parent committees which send representatives to a central parents' committee. Two such regions are the Montreal Catholic School Commission and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

A new law was introduced in 1988 permitting "orientation committees" for each school, if the parents wish to have one. Orientation committees came into being as a result of parents wishing more direct participation in the decisions affecting their school's operations. The primary role of the orientation committees is to determine, within the legislation, the specific objectives of the school. After consultation with parents, school boards determine the number of parent representatives on an orientation committee—as long as parents comprise the majority. The principal takes part in the proceedings without a vote. Meetings are chaired by a parent and as the chairperson, he or she has the deciding vote. These orientation committees are obliged to meet three times a year. Other functions are : to approve educational activities proposed by the principal; to provide the principal

with its opinion of the school's annual budget and to generate revenue; to be consulted by the school board on matters related to: criteria for selection of the principal; manner of implementation of the basic school regulations; enrichment and adaptation of official programs; local programs; student and special services. The primary functions of the school committees seem to be to promote parent participation in defining, implementing and evaluating the school's educational projects, and advising the orientation committee and school board on any matter concerning parents.

In conversation with a school board official in Quebec, this writer learned that there is now some discussion in Quebec to have the school and orientation committees become one school-based committee to avoid duplication of energies, with the possibility of two committees for each school. Orientation committees are not mandatory at all schools, whereas school committees have been since 1972.

Martin writes:

> The policy objectives of the British Columbia and Alberta legislation are not likely to help achieve a goal of meaningful parental participation in educational decision-making. . . Parents in Quebec, where the policy objectives are clearer, seem more likely to achieve meaningful participation in educational decision-making than British Columbia and Alberta.

> The Quebec law seems, on the other hand, clearly more 'quantitative' than 'ambiguous'. . . It precisely states legislative objectives which are ranked in importance. The provisions are specific as to functions, duties and responsibilities, and operation of parental committees at all levels of the system. In addition, the law clearly ranks highly the importance of the contribution of parental committees in the hierarchical decision-making process by giving parents some control over the direction of the school, the allocation of budgets, and leadership in schools. (Martin, 1991: 75)

> The legislation in British Columbia and Alberta gives parents the power to advise, but places no corresponding statutory or regulatory duty on the board or principal to consult parents on similar matters. The Quebec law makes it a duty for boards to 'consult on those matters on which they must be consulted' (Martin, 1991: 76)

> In summary, if the policy is truly to give meaningful participant status to parents, the policy itself and the legislative provisions enunciating the policy must have precise and clearly ranked objectives, must have a form appropriate to achieve the end sought, must include formal incentives and disincentives for compliance, must stipulate the decision rules for implementing agency, must provide adequate means of procedures for enforcement, must provide oversight and other monitoring mechanisms, and must provide adequate financial resources to implement the policy. Whatever the agenda and political motivation, the Quebec legislation does most of these things while the British Columbia and Alberta laws do not. (Martin, 1991: 84)

In concluding this section, mention should be made of native education in Canada. Native education has been under federal jurisdiction for a long time with parental involvement and local control going back as far as 1970. Green (1990) anticipates that a full take-over (parental control) of operations of native schools would be achieved by 1992.

So in the 21st century, Native education will assume a distinctive Native flavour; and Indian education will begin to do what all education systems should do—pomote the culture of the society it serves. Bearing in mind that culture is dynamic in nature and adaptive in purpose, this does not mean halting the development of the Native societies in Canada. It means moving at a rate and along a path that is satisfactory and meaningful to the people for whom the education is intended. (Green, 1990: 37)

Analysis

The following section will present some researchers evaluations of what has happened in recent reforms in parental governance in education.

Studying projects in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago, Michelle Fine (1993) attempts an overview of parental involvement practices. She begins:

> Parents are being promiscuously invited into the now deficit-ridden public sphere of public education, invited in 'as if' this were a power-neutral partnership. Many would argue that parents in urban districts are being asked in when it is too late, asked in to 'fix' the damage of racism and an economy with the bottom carved out.
>
> Progressives and conservatives alike are appropriately distressed by a failing public sector, by broken promises of 'professionalism' and empty dreams of reform 1980's style. Together, perhaps oddly, they are pressing parental involvement/empowerment in the vanguard of educational reform. Sometimes parents are being organized as advocates for their children, other times as teacher bashers, often as bureaucracy busters, more recently, as culture carriers, increasingly, as consumers. Parents enter the contested public sphere of public education typically with neither resources nor power.(Fine, 1993: 682)

She states that questions of power, authority, and control must be addressed head-on within debates about parental involvement in public schools. She emphasizes:

> To avoid these issues is to trivialize the rethinking of the urban public sphere. The presumption of equality between parents and schools, and the refusal to address power struggles, has systematically undermined real educational transformation, and has set up parents as well as educators involved with reform. In scenes on which power asymmetries are not addressed and hierarchical bureaucracies are not radically transformed, parents end up looking individually 'needy' or 'hysterical' and appear to be working in opposition to teachers. Rarely do they seem entitled to strong voices and substantial power in a pluralistic public spheres. Rarely do they have the opportunity to work collaboratively with educators inventing what could be a rich, engaging, and democratic system for public education. (Fine, 1993: 684-685)

She then examines three parental involvement projects: Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago. In each city there has been a political movement underway to strengthen parental presence inside schools, and around concerns of education, through some form of "collaboration".

> The Baltimore program "With and For Parents" was originally premised as a drop-out prevention program, arguing that parental empowerment would produce more educationally supportive households and in turn improve student outcomes in solidly low-income and African-American neighbourhoods. What was found was that parental involvement (participation not governance) is necessary but not sufficient to improve student achievements.(Fine, 1993: 691)
>
> Without a serious national, state, and community commitment to serving children broadly, and to restructuring schools in low-income neighbourhoods and their surrounds, deep parental involvement with schools will do little to positively affect-or-sustain low-income students in their schools or outcomes. (Fine, 1993: 691)
>
> . . . systematic power and critique, parental involvement projects may simply surface the individual needs of families, which will become the vehicle to express, and dilute, struggles of power. If unacknowledged, power may hide, cloaked in the 'needs' or 'inadequacies' of disenfranchised mothers, and schools may persist unchallenged, employing practices that damage. (Fine, 1993: 692)

In 1990, the School District of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and The Philadelphia Schools Collaborative entered into an agreement that this district would pursue shared decision making and school based management (SD/SBM) in all schools to generate radically innovative educational plans and then seek a 75% approval vote, by the faculty, for those plans. Once a vote was achieved, control over the resources of that school would move from central district to the school; waivers from state, district, and union policies would be considered; and shared decision making would be in place at the school site.

12 school governance councils were established. The councils are comprised of 15 members mostly

educators with substantial parent representation: principal, assistant principal, building representative from the union, four parents selected by lottery from among those interested, one noninstructional staff member, one department head, and six teachers. All decisions were to be made by concensus not majority vote. Guidelines for these governance councils are:

a. to establish processes to assure broad consultation and involvement of school community in curriculum, instruction, and educational renewal including posting of criteria and selection of personnel for posted positions;
b. to provide vehicles for assessing the effectiveness of the school program;
c. to determine distribution of resources (financial and personnel) allocated to the school;
d. to regularly report to the school community;
e. to request waivers for changes in School District policy and/or contractual agreements and/or state regulations. (Fine, 1993: 693)

After six months she found that most parent council members were organizing together with educators—figuring out and playing with power dynamics. No longer waiting to be asked to speak, they were speaking up and working with teachers to bring about change—considering themselves pioneers.

After three years and a variety of transitions, from feeling isolated in some councils to feeling free to speak their minds in others, Fine questions : what are parents being asked to represent in the name of parental participation—are they just advisers on community issues or fully entitled partners in school decision making? Are they there to play out their private interests or to engage with teachers, in creating a shared vision for their school? Fine asks "Why have we not dealt, explicitly, with the parent teacher/administrator struggle for power?" (Fine,1993: 695) When interviewed, many of these parents made a distinction between getting a "voice" or getting a "hearing" with a more activist voice.

Researchers also found that on the school-based councils parents are often among the first voices of "critique, possibility, and common vision. They crack the silences of bureaucracy, prying open the questions that have historically been shut down inside schools—questions of authority, culture and community." (Fine,1993: 698)

Three years into restructuring, parents are now pressing questions of power, demanding that the public sphere embrace their concerns-the concerns of the public. (Fine,1993: 699)

… Three years into our work in Philadelphia many educators and parents are beginning to recognize each other as friendly critics and allies in the struggle to reinvent urban high schooling. (Fine, 1993: 700)
Fine considers the Chicago reforms as a radical reversal of traditional school politic— based mainly on the theory that schools can be improved by strengthening democratic control at the school-community level. (Fine, 1993: 701)

Looking at the Chicago situation, she found the following :

I should note that even in Chicago there yawns a large space between the *ideological power granted to parents* and the material power still held by the central administration and financial elites in this urban community. Should this national round of reform come to a halt, precipitated by clashes in urban and national economies, the callousness of late capitalism, and the brutalization of urban communities, we may hear that activist parents, particularly urban, low-income, African-American parents, are to blame for the failure of public education. And we will know this is a lie. (Fine, 1993: 702)

She also writes: the workings of administration—its posture, support, span of control and trust of schools have not been re-orientated. "Indeed , if schools are 'in charge' and the central administration

has changed little, schools are quite vulnerable to devastating, decentralized budget crises." (Fine,1993: 705)

She asks: how can "counterpublics" i.e. teachers, parents, community representatives possibly engage in collective educational projects with power never absent? In Chicago, the politics of power have been confronted and reversed with parents calling some important shots such as principals being fired.

More than anywhere else, Chicago is struggling to invent strategies that detour the automatic turn to oppositional interests and create, instead, ways for adults and adolescents to nurture trust, critique, and hold conversation within educational democracies. (Fine, 1993: 705)

So it is in Chicago, in this fantastic moment of participatory democracy within the public sphere, that we view this 'next generation' of struggles around parental empowerment—differential levels of received and imported cultural capital, the persistence of bureaucratic waste and obstruction, and the need for ongoing creative conversations among parents and teachers within a rich democracy of differences. Chicago holds unprecedented possibilities and moves us all forward, with the sense of serious engagement by and for parents, families, educators, and students. (Fine, 1993: 706)

Fine writes that in order to create change, one must be aware of power relationships which inform and control all involved, otherwise reform will be defeated because ". . . trying to change power relationships, especially in complicated, traditional institutions, is among the most complex tasks human beings can undertake. The first step, recognition of the problem, is the most difficult, especially in regard to schools, because we all have been socialized most effectively to accept power relationships characteristic of our schools as right, natural, and proper outcomes." (Fine, 1993: 706)

It is important that community based decision making be supported and that there be a shared community vision which includes "democracies of difference" for reform to succeed and create the human community.

Rich and real parental involvement requires a three-way commitment: organizing parents, restructuring schools and communities towards enriched educational and economic outcomes, and to inventing rich visions of educational democracies of difference.

Without a commitment to democratically restructuring schools and communities, parental involvement projects will end up helping families (or not) rather than transforming public life. Without an image of parents and educators working across lines of power, class, race, gender, status, and politics, toward democracies of difference, each group is likely to feel they have gotten no hearing, and will default to their respective corners shrouded in private interests and opposition. (Fine, 1993: 708)

. . . we must reconceptualize a democratic, critical, lively public sphere within public education. And we need to do this with, but not exclusively on the backs of, parents. (Fine, 1993: 708)

One reactor (Joel Spring) to Fine's findings suggests that true parental power involves "complete" control of the curriculum, textbooks, methods of instruction, and the hiring of teachers—there is no meaningful power if the parents cannot control the knowledge transmitted to their children. (Fine, 1993: 719)

Another responder to Fine's research is Joyce Epstein who writes:
The buzzwords of the 1990's—shared decision making and school-based management—are just starting to hum. The schools and districts need much assistance in staff development, staff leadership, and financial support (as in Philadelphia project) to successfully establish school-based

management.

Most districts and schools can immediately write policies to develop programs of partnership, including greater and more equal participation of families in school decision making, but also including the other types of involvement that produce many powers. In programs for reforming schools for the next century, we need power in partnerships. (Fine, 1993: 715)

Dixon (1992) writes about findings from the Southwest Development Laboratory in Austin Texas which conducted extensive interviews with parents, teachers and administrators and found that parents are eager to play all roles at school from tutor to decision-maker. They also found that the barrier to more parent involvement was not parent apathy but lack of support from educators. (Dixon, 1992: 15)

There are some hints from the research that parental involvement, especially in governance can have a positive impact on student achievement. (Comer, 1988)

Hazel Loucks writes that parent-family involvement is reported in the literature as one of the important factors in successful schools or school which report improved student achievement. The literature further supports the concept that people who spend time in schools feel more positive about those schools. (Loucks, 1992)

Erbe's 1991 study found that student achievement was significantly higher in Chicago schools which encouraged meaningful parent involvement—schools where communication channels with parents are open, in which parents are encouraged to contribute actively to the school program as volunteers, show higher achievement in reading and math as measured by standard achievement scores—in spite of high poverty rates and student mobility. They found that offering parent workshops ". . . was less effective than the social emotional climate of mutual support and communication." (Erbe, 1991: 30)

Leonard and Messner (1991) report that a 1990 National Governors Association survey found that thirty states were initiating some type of school reform with the basis of upgrading students performance.
Flaxman and Inger(1992) found that although all studies of parental involvement show that the more parents participate in a sustained way, the more positive the effect on their children's educational achievement, the question remains, participation in what?

Stewart Hazel (1991) writes about a school-based management study of one particular school, Tilden High School in Chicago . Under a new principal, the school introduced a school based management program composed of training for the staff and the LSC to assist in the management of the discretionary fund, curriculum development, input into staff selection and development. Since the implementation of school-based management, ACT test scores "increased dramatically".

Conclusion

It is well established that education systems need parental participation in the process to meet the challenges for today and in the future. The forms this involvement will take are still emerging. My own research has investigated the co-operative participation of parents in the formation, administration and ownership of parent co-operative early childhood programs. These programs have been flourishing since the 1940's in Canada and other countries such as United States, Great Britain and New Zealand. Ontario with other Canadian provinces, has a long history of parent participation in the governance of early education and care. Perhaps this co-operative parental involvement has, in part, laid the foundation for the active participation of parents in public systems

beyond the preschool years.

There are signs that the gap between early education parent-run programs and the start of public schooling is narrowing. New Zealand's present government has publicly acknowledged "parents as first teachers" and is actively forming early partnerships with parents, thereby enriching the public spheres of education. Interestingly, if parents are involved in decision making roles with their young children, they enter the public stream already trained, equipped to participate with professionals in meaningful co-operative relationships, knowing the benefits for themselves, their children and their communities. Participating parents then are the primary decision- makers for their children's education.

What this summary and analysis show is that parental involvement in governance, in public education systems, is moving from consultative, advisory roles to power based relationships with professionals. The literature is clear that there are many opportunities for parents to become involved, whether supporting them in their parenting or enriching the classroom experience for their children by their assistance in school activities. However, there is growing evidence that unless parents are given "real" power over their children's education, the changes which seem to be needed will not happen.

Secondly, the literature is quite conclusive that changes which shift the balance of power to consumers, in this case parents, must take into serious consideration the implications of these reforms on existing structures. There seem to be two emerging configurations of power in the settings examined for this review. Some legislation places the balance of power with the parents, while others see power as shared between parents, professionals and other co-opted representatives.

It is also clear that any new power structures require not only special support mechanisms, but also, sufficient financial resources to enable decision makers in their responsibilities. Equally important, new responsibilities without clear guidelines and definitions of roles and duties may endanger the very reforms which were planned for, and in this case leave the parents vulnerable if these changes fail.

There seems to be a shift in the roles of school boards, district councils and even ministries of education. In compliance with local schools' aspirations, decision-making is becoming more decentralized and moving closer to the site of implementation. In order for new co-operative structures to succeed, administrators and elected officials must perceive their roles as facilitators— enabling these community based groups to flourish and succeed in fulfilling their expectations for their children. Otherwise, the system will be plagued by useless power struggles leading nowhere.

Some evidence is emerging that parental involvement in the schooling of children can have a positive impact on children's achievements. It is remarkable that the reforms introduced in cities such as Chicago and New York happened in large urban settings, where most of the children came from disadvantage homes. Generally parents who are involved in their children's school have positive attitudes towards their school and these attitudes tend to carry over into the home.

Finally, leadership qualities at all levels of the reform process will determine the outcome of the changes introduced. It may be necessary to re-orientate educators to new ways of working in partnership with parents for the education of future generations.

Thus family empowerment—defined as providing the structures to help parents become active participants in shaping their children's development, learning capacity, and school experience—is a critical component of all these programs. Because most of these programs target schools and districts serving low-income and disadvantaged constituencies, it is possible that a new generation of parents, honed by their experience of active participation in shaping their children's schooling, will emerge to transform schools that have traditionally miseducated and underserved too many of our nation's children. (Fruchter et al, 1993: 42)

Recommendations

If the Ontario government decides to introduce into the public school system school-based governance with parental involvement, the following recommendations are worth considering:

Any reforms in parental participation in governance be legislated and not left to chance.

The legislation should include clear definitions and interpretations of any new roles and responsibilities.

Substantial support services should be made available to enable community governance structures .

Training in co-operative processes and power sharing be organized for parents, teachers, principals and community participants. Orientation sessions on responsibilities and lines of communication be available to avoid confusion.

A system be put in place for mediating any disputes which cannot be resolved at the community level.
School board members and other education officials be re-orientated to the new roles of facilitators and supporters of community decision makers in their responsibilities.

Ministry of Education establish on-going evaluation and monitoring procedures of community based operations and improvements.

Find and encourage ways to involve all parents in education of their children. One of the most important tasks of any school-based management is to keep channels of communication open between all parents and the happenings at each school. Not all parents will want to participate in governance, many can find a place in other involvement practices offered to support the school and their children's education. In reality, all parents are members of the school-based mandate, not only the few who serve in official capacities.

Encourage local businesses and corporations to become more actively involved in school governance and school activities in their local communities.

Teacher training programs prepare educators to enter into meaningful co-operative partnerships with parents in the delivery of education in the Province.

For future continuity of parent participation, establish on-going links with parent involvement early childhood programs. Consider creating the position of a parent involvement specialist at the Ministry level.

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Appendix 1

Comparison Chart of Legislated School Governance

<u>Site</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Special Features</u>
Salt Lake City	1988	SBGM	Parents invited
Chicago	1988	Local School Councils 6 parents 2 community reps. 2 teachers principal student (High School)	Hiring & firing of principal
Kentucky	1990	Local School Councils	Council on School Performance
Great Britain	1986	Board of Governors e.g. 300-599 pupils 4 parent governors 4 l.e.a. governors 2 teachers principal 5 co-opted	Increased representation of parents
New Zealand	1988	Board of Trustees 5 parents principal 1 teacher 4 co-opted	Review audit agency Parent Advocacy Council
Canada			
B.C.	1989	Parent advisory committee	Not mandatory
Alberta	1988	Advisory Council	Not mandatory
Quebec	1972	School Committee 5-25 parents principal 1 teacher	Required
	1986	Orientation Committee 2 teachers 1 N.T.P 1 support staff 2 H.S students 1 community Parents at equal to total Principal	Not mandatory

Appendix 2
Selected Case Studies

Appendix 3
Samples of Legislation

What the Literature Tells Us About
School-based Management in Selected Jurisdictions:
Implications for Ontario

Joyce Scane

April 1993

Scane, Joyce.

What the Literature Tells Us About School-based Management in Selected Jurisdictions: Implications for Ontario, **April 1993.**
(Ce que les documents révèlent sur la gestion par l'école dans plusieurs compétences: répercussions pour l'Ontario), **avril 1993.**

In this paper the literature concerning what is broadly known as school-based management in Dade County (Florida), Chicago, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. The questions examined are: (1) why this restructuring process was necessary; (2) to which group has real power devolved; and (3) is the power genuinely shared?

The models examined are radically different, both in their history, objectives, and the way the devolution of power appears to have worked out. The problem is that these restructuring processes are (except for Edmonton) relatively recent, and medium and long-term results are not yet apparent. If success is to be defined as the attainment of objectives, then, for example, New Zealand and Chicago have probably succeeded. New Zealand has eliminated an overly-rigid bureaucracy, and Chicago has more parent input. What effect these reforms will have on student achievement is not yet clear. However, the current trend appears to feel the need for an increasing democratization of the schools, i.e., more control at the school level and more direct input from the community. Models such as that in effect in Edmonton allow for more control at the school level, but formal provision does not appear to have been for direct parental involvement in the governance of the schools. It is not clear if substantial cost savings have been made for this model. However, only more research and more experimentation with different models over the longer term will give us indications as to what works and what does not work.

* * * * *

Dans ce document, l'auteure examine les expériences à ce titre dans le comté Dade (Floride), àChicago, en Suède, en Nouvelle-Zélande, en Australie et au Canada. Voici les questions étudiées: 1) pourquoi ce processus de restructuration était-il nécessaire? 2) Quel est le groupe qui a bénéficié du pouvoir réel? 3) Ce pouvoir est-il vraiment partagé?

Les modèles examinés sont radicalement différents, tant pour ce qui est de l'historique que des objectifs ou de la manière dont la dévolution de pouvoir semble avoir fonctionné. Le problème c'est que ces processus de restructuration sont relativement récents (à l'exception d'Edmonton), et que les résultats à moyen et à long terme ne sont pas encore évidents. Si l'on définit le succès comme la réalisation des objectifs, alors la Nouvelle-Zélande et Chicago, par exemple, ont probablement réussi. La Nouvelle-Zélande a éliminé une bureaucratie beaucoup trop rigide et Chicago a augmenté la participation des parents. On ne connaît pas encore quels seront les effets de ces réformes sur les résultats des élèves. Cependant, la tendance actuelle semble prôner une démocratisation accrue des écoles, c'est-à-dire un plus grand contrôle au niveau de l'école et une collaboration plus directe de la communauté. Les modèles comme ceux d'Edmonton permettent d'exercer davantage de contrôle au niveau de l'école, mais les dispositions officielles ne semblent pas avoir prévu la participation directe des parents à la gestion des écoles. Il est impossible de prouver que ce modèle ait permis de réaliser d'importantes économies en termes de coût. Cependant, seules des recherches plus poussées et un plus grand nombre d'expériences sur différents modèles à long terme nous permettront de savoir ce qui fonctionne et ce qui ne fonctionne pas.

During the 1980s an increasing malaise concerning the quality of education became evident in many jurisdictions. In an attempt to make education fit what has been perceived to be a new technological and increasingly competitive world, a number of countries experimented with restructuring their education systems with the hope that their people and industries would not fall behind in the new world order. Sweden, New Zealand, Australia, Dade County (Florida), Chicago and Canada have been among those who have experimented with school-based management (SBM) in an effort to find solutions for the perceived misfit of education and a new world order. In this paper I propose to summarize the more important features of the restructuring process in these places, and then look at possible implications for Ontario.

In examining the literature, a number of questions arise. For example, is SBM a win/lose situation? Has SBM had any effect on equity in education, student achievement, the professionalization of teachers, and parent and community involvement? These questions are answered unevenly in the literature (i.e., a little information about some of the questions in some jurisdictions, but silence on other questions); these gaps in information will be noted.

When looking at the forms that various processes of decentralization have established, more questions arise:

(1) why was restructuring considered to be necessary?

(2) to whom has the real power devolved?

(3) if the decision-making function was to be a shared process, is it truly shared?

Generally, it was (or is) believed that SBM would accomplish a number of goals. These outcomes, depending largely on the priorities of the jurisdictions involved, were: (1) local schools, rather than a central bureaucracy, would better understand the needs of their individual communities, and could therefore modify their programs to suit the local situation; (2) large bureaucracies are remote, inefficient and expensive, and schools could be run more economically and better if they were not thwarted by bureaucrats at several levels; and (3) parents and the community increasingly insisted in a voice in the education that their children were receiving and that they were paying for.

Elmore (1993:34[1]) describes the feelings in the United States that have led to the current (there have been others in the past) wave of school reform:

> As a consequence of the growth of centralized school bureaucracies, schools have become mired in rules and cut off from their clients — students, parents, and community members. Ambitious, if not radical, reforms are required to rectify this situation. Central bureaucracy must be substantially reduced: schools must be given more autonomy and more responsibility on such matters as personnel, budget, and curriculum; new governance structures must be designed that hold schools accountable to their clients, rather than to their bureaucratic superiors. Reformers yearn for a simpler, more direct link between the schools and 'the people.'

Elmore further points out (p.35) that centralization/ decentralization movements have historically had little to do with classroom instruction or the learning of students: "[I]t is not fundamentally or directly about teaching and learning." Somewhat cynically, he writes: "Educators have learned to play the game of structural reform in ways that are consistent with the prevailing form of interest-group politics: rationalize structural changes not in terms of how they will affect teaching and learning but in terms of who will gain access and influence to political decisions about schooling. Debates about centralization and decentralization in American education, then, are mainly debates about *who* should have access to and influence over decisions, not about *what* the content and practice of teaching and learning should be or *how* to change those things" (p.40). In Elmore's view, restructuring

is a power game.

(a) **Sweden**

The system in Sweden before the 1980s appears to have been highly centralized with most power resting in a National Board of Education (an administrative body) and the political arm (Ministries) of the national government. The "primary" schools (Lane & Murray 1985:165[2]) were apparently locally administered, whereas secondary schools were not. Under the restructuring reforms which were, it appears, motivated by a desire for more flexibility in the schools, block grants were given to municipalities and this level of government became responsible for both elementary and secondary education. The rationale for this move was that decentralization would result in a greater integration of school activities with other municipal activities, greater administrative efficiency in schools, and more influence for politicians, teachers and other school staff (Stromberg 1987:1[3]). Six regional boards were introduced in 1977 to look after post-secondary education, but Lane and Murray (p.165) are uncertain of the viability of these boards in the restructuring process.

The central government still retains control of national goals and the curriculum, and national evaluation programs are to be expanded (Lander 1991:8[4]). Funding formulae are now on a per pupil basis (number of pupils per square kilometre) with additional assistance for special needs, and the local municipality can allocate the grant as it chooses. Municipal officials are democratically elected by the people in the municipality, and education taxes are assessed according to income.

The results of the decentralization from the national government to the municipal levels have had, according to the commentators, the following results:

1. The funding formulae, based on density of population, have severely disadvantaged some schools in lower socio-economic areas, and have caused intense rivalry among some boards as they vie with each other to present their special needs to the central government.

2. There has been a policy drift from educational to economic problem-solving (Odin 1987:38[5]) as the municipalities take control.

3. Schools must draw up a plan, and they must state the priorities for school improvement (including a stated amount of in-service time for teachers) within national goals.. These plans constitute the base for evaluating the school (Lander 1991). However, there is a lack of experience and knowledge in the schools about how to transform economic resources into educational goals and programs and vice versa (Odin 1987).

4. "A few individuals in each school take responsibility for budgetary questions, usually working in what are termed `resource groups.' Others devote energy to writing new work schedules. A third group tries to make a schedule of free activities and theme-oriented studies work out in practice" (Odin 1987:32). It appears that the principal (some feel they do not have the training for the administrative role) and to some extent the teachers now have more responsibility for school administration and programs. However, teachers in Sweden are unused to assuming any administration functions since the system has been highly hierarchical, and they now appear reluctant to do so because of lack of training in this area. Some commentators (e.g., Lindblad 1984[6]) have found that the legislation did not empower teachers, and that the educational hierarchy retained control.

5. Norrving and Sannerstedt (1989:3[7]) found that by 1989 little had changed, especially

in the classroom, and that patterns of influence remained unaltered. The reason, they believe, is that teachers had no training for a different role and perhaps no real understanding of it. Change was therefore a slow process. "Breaking up established routines and established patterns of influence takes time and is difficult to accomplish ... An organisation cannot cope with too many changes at once. Often new questions arise which, at [the] local level, are felt to be more important, which demand a solution and which pre-empt the attention, energies and creativity of the key actors."

It is therefore uncertain from the literature surveyed if the objective of restructuring, i.e., more flexibility in the school system, has been attained. However, it appears that the control of education shared between the central government and the municipalities.

(b) New Zealand

The reforms in New Zealand arose from a desire on the part of the Treasury branch of the government for increased efficiency and accountability, and from a shift in basic philosophy from a welfare state economy to supply side, monetarist and more competitive views. "Moreover, it was argued, the state schooling system was replete with self-serving bureaucrats and teachers who had captured the benefits of education for themselves [provider capture] rather than for their students ..." (Gordon 1992:5[8]). However, the Labour government in 1984 also expressed a strong desire for equity, a vision often lost in a competitively-oriented society, because they perceived that the Maori and other South Pacific ethic groups were being provided with an inferior education that was not responsive to their needs. They felt the same concern about the quality of education provided for women and working-class children. Also expressed by the then Minister of Education was a desire for "more parental and community involvement and greater teacher responsibility. It will lead to improved learning opportunities for the children of this country. The reformed administration will be sufficiently flexible and responsive to meet the particular needs of Maori education" (Lange 1988:iv[9]).

With the publication of the Picot report[10], the function of the Department of Education (formerly a huge bureaucracy in charge of even the smallest details) was scaled down to that of policy-making, finance and property management, and each school was required to set up a board of trustees, the majority of whom were to be parents, or after 1992, community members (to encourage the participation of business). Four co-opted members of the community were permitted to ensure that the board properly reflected the composition of its community, or to ensure that particular expertise was represented and available to the board. No more than one of these co-opted members was to be a teacher.

"The key role of board of trustees is to develop policy guidelines and to ensure that satisfactory educational outputs are achieved. In pursuing this goal the fundamental decision for boards of trustees to make is the recruitment of their principal; and then to conduct an annual appraisal of this person's performance on a basis that is consistent with the agreed job definition/ contract. Management of the school then becomes the principal's role, not that of the board of trustees. The boards should support principals in their management role by providing the delegated authorities in educational, administration, personnel and finance matters to allow the principal to manage effectively within the terms of the contract/job definition which has been negotiated. It must also be stressed that adoption of the general principle that the board of trustees should confine itself to matters of governance does not prevent individual board members, when acting in a different capacity, from assisting in a wide range of administrative roles at the invitation of the principal" (*Today's Schools* 1990:22-23[11]).

The New Zealand management system has been described as "tight-loose" (Lawton 1992[12]). The central government has clearly mandated core areas: policy, operations, finance and support. It establishes national guidelines, sets the national curriculum objectives, oversees the school charters,

owns and oversees all school properties, funds all schools, and takes responsibility for payments in cases of major vandalism, fire, flood and earthquake damage. National examinations reinforce this control of curriculum. The central government also controls the Review and Audit Agency to which all boards of trustees must report concerning their budgets.

The Ministry of Education provides policy advice to the Minister on all aspects of education, and oversees the implementation of national policies approved by the Minister. It is not a direct provider of education services, although it contracts other agencies and individuals to provide certain services.

In other areas, the control is loose. Primarily, the boards of trustees are responsible for implementing the schools' charters which are prepared collaboratively with the principal, staff and the community, the budgeting processes, the administration of the school, and the hiring of the principal and teachers. The charters define the purposes of the institution, the intended outcomes for students, and the design of the programs. The boards of trustees must also report regularly to the community (community education forum), and send an audited account to the Review and Audit Agency.

Another group established by the central government is the Parent Advocacy Council which is directly accountable to Parliament. Its function is: (1) to disseminate information about the education system and the rights and obligations of those in it; (2) to help groups and individuals whose needs are not being met or listened to elsewhere in the system—for instance, at the local institution or community education forum levels; (3) to assist parents who wish to educate their children at home, or who wish to set up a separate school; and (4) to represent and promote the interests of parents generally. Its members are appointed by the Minister, and it is supposed to reflect the general population in terms of its ethnic, gender and income composition.

Other groups are: the School Trustees Association (to help boards of trustees carry out their functions) and Education Service Centres. The Teachers' Registration Board (part of the central government and representative of employing bodies and teachers) is funded by the teachers themselves, and is responsible for determining the conditions and requirements under which teachers will be able to be registered as teachers. However, since 1991, registration has not been a pre-requisite for a teaching position. Boards of Trustees may hire unqualified teachers if they wish.

The boards of trustees, advised by the principal, make the decision to hire or fire teachers. The principal supervises the teachers, and the principal is in turn supervised by the board of trustees. The board is responsible for teacher appraisal and discipline within established guidelines. At the end of 1991, the government removed minimum staffing levels for schools, opening the door for larger class sizes and a reduction in the number of teachers. The government has also tried to encourage Boards of Trustees to take charge of the part of the bulk funding for teachers' salaries. However, many Boards are resisting this.

Teachers may negotiate on their own behalf with the board of trustees. However, the teachers' union is still powerful.

The intended outcomes were greater simplicity, efficiency and accountability, greater choice of schools (marketization of schooling), more community and parental control, and schools that could respond to their particular needs (especially for the Maori), and a more equitable education for all. Decisions would be made at appropriate levels, there would be national objectives, coordinated decision making, clear responsibilities and goals, control over resources, accountability, and openness and responsiveness (*Today's Schools*:13).

However, in 1991, a new government announced that the previous rights for the Maori which had been compulsory in the first schools charters, were now optional, and that schools were

to become much more competitive and market-oriented. With the removal of the previously compulsory provisions for Maori and other under privileged sectors of society from the school charters, the Maori people have become even more dissatisfied with the schooling received by their children, and because of this (and other changes in the neo-liberal context) "powerful new claims of Maori for a bi-cultural nation, including Maori self-determination in education and the economy" (Gordon 1992:13[13]) have arisen. Macpherson (1992:282[14]), however, found that Maoris were well represented on school councils.

The question of greater efficiency is dubious since unpaid members of the boards are doing vast amounts of work, and there are some signs that this situation may not continue forever. The volunteer work has not meant, it appears, a more economical system.

Since the expectations of principals were so unrealistically high, they have, of course, not been met, and principals have tended to suffer from self-doubt, vulnerability in industrial matters, feel alienated by expectations and seriously overworked. "Where false confidence was created through the adoption of managerial technicism, a series of unfortunate multiplier effects were soon evident" (Macpherson 1990:12[15]). According to Macpherson, the principal should have been able to (Macpherson 1990:11):

- appreciate the relativity of the cultures of and served by the school, the school community, the region and the broader society;

- analyze, understand and explain complex policy decisions;

- unravel clashes of values and cultures so that trustees could make ethically sophisticated judgements;

- use an advanced knowledge of teaching, learning and educative administration when advocating policy; and

- use an educative approach to leadership and a sophisticated set of methods to implement policy with professional colleagues.

Many principals have not received the necessary training to accomplish these goals.

The positive results have been that parents have been given much more say in the system through their election to the boards of trustees and through the community education fora. However, their gains appear to be at the expense of the education professionals.

Macpherson (1992:282) points out another positive result as he notes that chartering has encouraged: "debate about educational ends and means in a way never seen before, and in some schools, perhaps not to be seen again, until the school's performance is evaluated in terms of its charter ... such facts help explain why New Zealand Principals and Board Members ... remain generally optimistic about the future, despite the massive loads that they have had to carry to make the reforms work as well as they have. In my view, trustees and principals are the true social heroes of contemporary New Zealand."

Although there are questions and criticisms about the new system, there is little call to return to the old bureaucratic situation, even though, according to Gordon and Pearce (1993:177[16]), " ... in New Zealand there were virtually no questions raised about educational effectiveness until the neo-liberal blueprint for education, written by the Treasury, was released in 1987... it is still generally true that New Zealand delivers a relatively high level of education at a relatively moderate cost ... and current state-led attacks on education do not have a great deal of popular support. It is significant in New Zealand that attacks on education have primarily come from neo-liberal

organizations within the state and from finance capital." Generally parents have been satisfied with the quality of education their children receive. The exception has been the Maori people who wanted more Maori content in their schools. Under the reforms, they have been able to set up their own schools.

Another point is that the principals, no matter what their feelings concerning the restructuring process, have tended to shield the classrooms from drastic changes. Therefore, little effect can be expected on children's learning except for those improvements which may arise from greater parent involvement.

There was also a general feeling that clear and consistent policy guidelines have not been provided by the Ministry. Also absent from schools were clearly defined operational objectives and an overall plan to achieve them, and an absence of mechanisms to monitor progress towards achieving schools' operational objectives. Also lacking were fully developed reporting systems covering (1) an education plan, (2) a personnel plan, (3) a property management plan, and (4) a financial plan. Much unhappiness could perhaps have been avoided if principals, chairpersons, board members and administrative officers had been better prepared for their new roles.

Since the changes in policy in late 1991, teacher unions and education professionals have increasingly (but to date unsuccessfully) fought the increasing marketization and competition in and among schools, and the loss of traditional equity of education in New Zealand schools. "Other groups, notably the various opposition parties, Boards of Trustees and educational academics have also opposed aspects of the reforms" (Gordon 1992:13).

Concerning the Treasury's concern that schools cost too much, these officials still insist that the schools are too expensive (Beckett 1991[17]), and Treasury officials would like to cut costs even further. "[A]ll savings achieved through restructuring stayed in the [education] portfolio. The increased costs, discovered later, of localising some functions, actually led to a series of additional budgetary allocations" (Macpherson 1990:5). Peters and Marshall (1990:79[18]) argue that "[t]he real costs of strategies pursued in the name of efficiency have been disproportionately borne by those already oppressed - the disadvantaged and the unemployed, the majority of whom are women and Maori/ Polynesian."

In New Zealand, it appears that control of education lies in the hands of parents and the Ministry of Education.

(c) Australia

In common with other countries in a technological age, Australians had the feeling that they were falling behind in the post-industrial age. Dawkins (1991:Introduction[19]) states that any current dissatisfaction with the educational system has been largely promoted by supply side economists, politicians and the media. Therefore, educational reform in this country (as in New Zealand) is increasingly geared towards instrumental goals thought to be in the best interests of the economy, with the assumption that this is what is best for all Australians.

Dawkins (p.3) further laments the increasingly prescriptive nature of schooling: "The new assumptions upon which school curricula are based give pre-eminence to skills perceived as serving economic needs, and make a mockery of those oratorical statements about encouraging `the desire for learning' and for students `to develop to their full capacity,' paraded before us at election time." He points out that the government is presently taking its policy advice from a small group of economic rationalists. "The current fascination with `skills' and long discredited testing instruments runs counter to the claims of the recent OECD report, *New Technologies in the 1990s: A Socioeconomic Strategy,* that new technological changes require an education and training system which will `foster initiative, creativity, and responsibility among young people'" (p.3). Kenway agrees with Dawkin

(1991:155[20]): "Throughout the 1980s education has come to be considered less and less a means of individual development, a personal and national social and cultural benefit, or a way of effecting just social change. Increasingly it is perceived as an investment, for individuals in a job and for the nation an investment in economic growth." Other writers warn against the dangers of investing all educational capital in technology since this can lead to a loss of equity. They also point out that not all technological jobs are "good" jobs; most jobs of the future will be low tech.

Nevertheless, before the reform movement, Australians were aware that their failure and the drop-out rates were high. They also had to come to terms with the fact that their society was no longer homogeneous (the Aboriginal population is ignored in this context); the population after World War II was becoming increasingly multicultural. There was also the feeling that the system was over-centralized, inflexible, and inefficient, too remote from the communities the schools served. The need for fiscal restraint was another factor.

In Australia the states control education, although the central government provides about eleven percent of the funding via transfer grants. Due to equalization processes of the federal government, all the states have roughly the same per capita amount to spend on students. There is also a substantial private sector, funded by the state and the central government.

The seven states/ territories are now involved in setting up SBM systems with varying rates of speed and difficulty. Most of the state governments now require or are encouraging the formation of school councils or school boards with powers to set policies, approve budgets and evaluate the programs of the school. Teachers and, in some instances, students have also been empowered in this manner (Caldwell 1993:174[21]). "Hierarchical forms of decision making are quickly disappearing, with principals now expected to consult and reach consensus with a wide range of individuals and groups. There is continuous change and the school which attempts to respond to everything is quickly overwhelmed" (Caldwell 1992:7[22]). It is not clear from the available literature exactly where the balance of power lies. In Tasmania and Victoria, the principal seems to have the most power; in Western Australia, the plan was to empower teachers and parents with the principal as the team leader; in New South Wales where the largest councils consist of 13 members: six parents, one teacher, one non-teaching staff, four community representatives, and the principal, clearly the parents and community members have control. It appears that the decentralization movement in Australia is taking place as a gradual process (unlike the abrupt sweeping away of the central authority in New Zealand) with the federal and state governments urging the process along.

Caldwell comments on the process: "Towards the end of the 1980s, however, a significant shift of a centralizing kind occurred in this state as the government called for the building of state-wide curriculum frameworks, the development of state and regional strategic plans, and a system of accountability linking school, region and state. The national government now requires much tighter accountability in respect to outcomes at the state level of nationally funded initiatives ... Most other states and territories are now adopting similar patterns to Victoria, with leaner but more powerful central functions in terms of the formulation of goals, the setting of priorities and the building of frameworks for accountability, but with a clear shift towards school-site management in terms of operational decision making, including budgeting and community involvement. Ten goals of schooling have also been adopted by the commonwealth and state governments, with recent interest in a national curriculum framework" (Caldwell 1993:167-8). The national government is now putting in place a framework for a national curriculum and testing program.

The process is not without its critics: "In the state of New South Wales, the conservative government that came to office in 1984 has also displayed the same contradictory tendencies [as in Victoria and Western Australia] — the rhetoric is that of autonomy and devolution, but the reality is a corporate management model that demands compliance and control ... it aims to `conserve existing social arrangements and neglect considerations outside the narrow demands of effectiveness and efficiency'[23]" (Smyth 1992:272[24]).

However, in some places the decentralization process has not been completely to the school level. In the early 1970s, several states, including Victoria, decentralized some of their administrative functions to regional units. In Queensland there are Regional Educational Councils on which community participation is sought. Regional consultants provide workshops for teams from schools and their communities with the purpose of developing the necessary knowledge and skills (Burke 1992:48[25]). In Western Australia, the job of the 30 districts seems to be primarily the monitoring of the schools.

In some of the states, the Department of Education retains considerable authority, and the devolution of power to the school level varies widely. Macpherson (1992:283) notes that the Australian state ministers now act in a manner resembling chair of corporations. "They hire and fire fast acting `chief executives.' They use expert, contracted and short-life policy teams, They use relatively slim composite ministries to issue policy guidelines and use formula funding to provide sanctions and incentive regimes for agency managers." The state governments are responsible for primary and secondary levels and they look after curriculum (including an inspectorial system and state-wide external examinations at the end of secondary schooling), and the budget.

The responsibility for the hiring and firing of teachers varies among the states. In New South Wales, it is the principals' responsibility; in Western Australia is done either centrally (by the state) or by the district. Generally the principal supervises the teachers, but in Western Australia, the Cluster Director appraises them.

The critics of the programs are many. Macpherson (1992:283) believes that there is "a gross imbalance of powers between self-management and local government functions. It has left community and client perspectives marginalised. Professional and political perspectives dominate the corporate management groups of state education. This means that the quality of accountability to clients has reached an all-time low in the Australian state systems that celebrate having self-managing schools ... I doubt that it will be enough to expect Australian principals to contain the problem of legitimacy until such time as economic and political circumstances allow for more effective quality assurance. Teachers and school executive staff in many states of Australia, including Tasmania, have to provide services often without the benefit of effective and local legitimation of their professionalism."

Teachers' unions have severely criticized the reforms, saying that they had not been given appropriate resources, time, support, and in-servicing to enable staff to effectively participate in SBM. Criticism has also come from principals' (they feel overloaded) and parents' groups who feel that they were not adequately consulted nor were they part of the process. The most frequent criticisms appear to concern the lack of detail provided by the various state governments. Stakeholders found this lack of precision to be unsettling, and much dissention has been the result.

Blackmore (1991:59[26]) has pointed out that in Victoria: "The teacher career restructure proposal of October 1989, as other modifications of the system, reflects a convergence with the other states towards close adherence to the practices and principles of corporate management. It is here that `corporatism' as a political formation and strategy takes on a new meaning. The incorporation of teachers (both individually and collectively) into the decision-making process in a liberal democratic state has effected the `quieting' of oppositional discourses in education" (p.59). She also points out that there are two conflicting strands in the SBM process in Victoria: "on the one hand, a push towards school-based decision-making and democratization of policy-making which was community-based and premised upon principles of collaboration and participation; on the other hand, the demand for increased economic accountability and governmental control of educational finance as indicated by greater `productivity'" (p.64). The teachers feel particularly threatened by this as yet undefined call for "productivity," while they are increasingly asked to take part in school administration. "Teachers' voluntary involvement in the committee systems is being ignored, while

their conditions of work are being eroded under new career structures based upon productivity gains" (p.79).

Another important criticism has been the lack of consideration given to equity in education. Angus (1993[27]) finds that there is little room in Australian educational systems for concerns of social justice. "In relation to equity, this type of approach is consistent with the view of equity as fair competition rather than equal participation" (Summary). In earlier writings, he (1991:268) described his fear of an increasingly hierarchical education system that would result from being market-driven. He urged a collaboration of parents and teachers who can question whether the best education for children is to be provided in the individualist and competitive approach favoured by the Right. "An alternative educational project that emphasizes access and justice for all pupils may be able to achieve informed popular assent rather than be dismissed as the work of self-serving educationalists." Quoting Lynch[28], Angus concedes that only the state can effectively protect the democratic rights for minority/oppressed groups. "Therefore, the public must be encouraged to ensure that the state accepts its responsibility for the fair provision of education to all students in partnership with schools and communities. The notions of partnership and community here would exclude the kind of Thatcherite marketization of education that is currently favoured in New South Wales, elements of which have crept into the other states through an emphasis on educational managerism" (p.269).

Kell (1990) argues that we should be suspicious of schemes that promise democracy but are really trying to deliver market values: " ... the `grassroots up' [local control] model will facilitate power to schools to bring about dynamic change and that this will result in management responding more directly to the needs of students. How this is to be done in the context of a `commercialized school system' is not clearly identified."

However, the entire picture is not black. Systematic investigations have revealed that councils established as part of school-based governance plans serve as vehicles through which individuals can share information, air complaints, vent concerns diffuse potentially contentious issues, minimise irritations, and address recurrent problems. Gamage (1993:146[29]) also found that the schools he looked at in Victoria reveal that "the councils have become effective and efficient organisations, while the principals are highly satisfied and totally committed to the collaborative form of governance adopted in the terms of school council system." A survey in NSW revealed that 88 percent of the school council members who responded state that they are either very happy or happy to spend their own time doing school council work (Gamage, p.146).

In Australia, the picture of which groups control the school systems is not yet clear. However, both the central and state governments at present dominate, but the intention is to allow power to devolve to school councils. The teachers appear to be opposing this strongly.

(d) Dade County, Florida

Dade County is the fourth largest school district in the United States with approximately 260,000 students. During the 1970s and 1980s the school system had serious problems due to a massive arrival of immigrants, racial problems, and a severe shortage of schools. The decision to restructure was, in part, "a conscious attempt to overcome the detached and depersonalized nature of the school system which is perhaps inevitable because of the size of the Dade County Public Schools" (Croghan and Provenzo 1989:13[30] as quoted in Hanson 1990[31]). Influenced by the Carnegie Report (1986:xvi[32]) which had stated that "Every school should be given the freedom and flexibility required to respond creatively to its educational objectives, and above all, to meet the needs of students," the board administration and the teachers' union collaborated in developing an SBM plan for Dade County that would bring control of the schools to the schools. The goal was to increase student achievement and enhance the quality of instructional programs. Since the board administration and the teachers' unions had a history of collaboration, they were able to put this

new administrative process into practice with relatively little friction. In fact, the union has consistently granted waivers to its collective agreement to smooth the processes towards SBM, and the administration has cooperated by giving policy waivers when necessary. The criterion imposed for these waivers is that any changes must have measurable benefits for students as their primary aim.

The primary thrust in Dade County was the professionalization of teaching, i.e., the involvement of teachers in critical decision-making processes at the individual school level, and the collaborative definition of goals and objectives at and for the individual school.

Initially, not all the schools in Dade County opted for SBM, but each school that voted with two-thirds of its faculty in support of it was permitted to join in the new plan. Initially 32 schools voted to join. In the elementary and secondary schools, most SBM configurations entailed the formation of a central decision-making body (usually consisting of five to twelve members) supported by a number of other committees (normally organized in terms of grade level or area of interest). The subcommittees are defined in terms of such areas as curriculum, student management, scheduling, and school-community relations, as well as in terms of specific constituent roles (e.g., grade-level teachers, parents, students). Issues for discussion or decision are typically determined by what the program evaluators described as a "trickle-up" process whereby subcommittees generate and examine issues and decide which should be referred to the central decision-making body. Decisions are normally made on the basis of a majority vote. In cases where the principal has veto power, provisions are made for consultation and the resolution of issues by consensus" (Cistone 1989:400[33]). In the secondary schools, most of the same structures hold, "but all employ task forces (special interest or departmental) and/or subcommittees to act as initiators and constituent conduits for issues to be acted upon by the central decision-making bodies" (Cistone 1989:400-401).

The schools form a governing body, or cadre, composed of teachers, the principal and other staff or community members, who will together decide how the school be run. There is a wide variety of structure (one has 32 members), but all must contain teachers and principal. They may hire teachers and other staff members, and they have control over curriculum (as long as they stay within state policy) and scheduling. The cadres report to one of six regional offices in the county.

The central administration maintains automated financial systems and provides financial information to school-site personnel. The focus of the central administration has changed from a compliance role to an information-giving role.

The decentralization of decision-making and responsibility was accomplished within an explicit framework of both autonomy and responsibility. It was intended to enhance the leadership of school-site administrators and promote the empowerment of teachers so as to make the school a more satisfying workplace and productive learning environment. This school-level, "bottom-up" strategy thus made the school, rather than the district as a whole, the focus of change and the point of intervention for organizational renewal.

Evaluation of SBM at the end of the first year showed that slightly more than half the teachers felt that the SBM program had made progress towards its objectives, and that there was a positive shift in teacher attitudes toward a more collegial approach to school management, and that principals were seeking more teacher input in decision-making. Teachers also perceived a slight improvement in school-community relations.

However, evaluators found that there was no evidence of improved efficiency. The contrary was perhaps the case since teachers needed extensive training for their roles in setting school policy. They also found that one hundred percent teacher participation is not realistic, and that there is a considerable amount of extra work without compensation or a reduction in workload. Some teachers felt that the internal bureaucracy that goes with SBM is too demanding on their energies.

When the lines of authority are not clear, conflicts can arise. Some principals felt they have lost authority to the teachers, etc., but are still responsible for what happens. Some schools seemed to develop an inertia, finding it difficult to conceive and implement coherent, large-scale changes. This is perhaps due to the frustrating nature of shared decision-making and a lack of leadership and negotiating skills. However, evaluators of the program reported an improvement in teacher morale, and the teachers felt that there was some improvement in school-community relations, although not all the schools voted to implement SBM, and some teachers were displeased with the way it has worked out.

There has also been little improvement reported in student achievement on standardized tests. However, plans are in place to create performance standards to measure schools and district progress toward new statewide outcome goals which call for raising student achievement to the highest in the country and to international levels.

In Dade County the power lies with the central county administration and with the teachers. The principal's role in this situation appears to be ambiguous.

(e) Chicago

In Chicago in the 1980s the schools were in crisis. The drop-out rate was high, student achievement ratings were low, there was no confidence in the over-bureaucratized education system, and finances were in disarray. Parent reform groups were sufficiently concerned with the quality of education in their jurisdiction to demand reform from the state legislature and to take an active (indeed, governing) role in the governance of the school councils. (The tradition in Chicago had long involved parents in advisory roles.) The reforms in the Chicago school system were based on the business theory of participatory decision-making, and the councils were to be the primary vehicles through which the goals of Chicago school reform would be achieved.

A fundamental difficulty in Chicago lay in the way in which the school boundaries were drawn up. The system operated under a desegregation consent decree that virtually eliminated all predominantly white schools. In a school system that has only a 15 percent white enrollment, that meant that the vast majority of minority students continued to attend completely segregated schools and did not benefit significantly from desegregation. The r_gime in power before the Reform Act had thwarted the intent of the desegregation program by creating rigid geographic boundary lines for school attendance.

With the pressure from Chicago parents, the Chicago School Reform Law (Public Act 85-1418), was signed by the governor on Dec. 1, 1988, and each school was required to set up a local school council (LSC). Each LSC was to be made up of eleven members: six parents, two teachers, two community representatives, one student (nonvoting), and the principal. All members, with the exception of the principal, were elected for a two-year term. A parent served as chairperson, and a parent or community leader acted as the council's representative to the subdistrict council.

The parent representatives were originally elected by a vote of the parents with children attending the schools. The community representatives were elected by residents living within the geographical boundaries of the school enrollment area who were neither parents of enrolled students nor employees of the school system. The two teachers are elected by all employees assigned to each school, exclusive of the principal. The principal serves on the basis of her/his appointment by the LSC under a four-year contract. A Professional Personnel Advisory Committee (PPAC), made up of teachers and the principal (teachers are elected by the other professional staff in their building), are responsible for drafting a school improvement plan and curriculum for approval by the LSC.

Each LSC approves the school budget, develops a School Improvement Plan, helps choose texts and curricular materials, and recommends new teacher appointments. The PPAC draws up

plans for the curriculum and curricular materials and the School Improvement Plan, and these must be approved by the LSC. Professional development funds are also under the control of the LSC. However, the extent of the authority of the LSCs is often vague, and can give rise to friction between schools and the district office.

Although parents control the LSCs with considerable local powers, there is also a board of education at the municipal (Chicago) level. Before the Reform, the members of this board were appointed by "City Hall." The members are still not elected, but are selected from a nominating process that is built upon the school community structure developed for the reform. Two members from each elementary Subdistrict Council and three members from each secondary Subdistrict Council along with five members appointed by the Mayor make up the School Board Nominating Commission. The Commission draws up slates of three candidates for each of the 15 positions (four-year terms) on the Central Board of Education, and presents these nominees to the mayor. From the 15 slates of three nominees, the mayor selects one appointee for each slots. If the mayor finds the nominees to be unsatisfactory s/he can reject the entire slate and request that a new one be recommended.

This central administration has the right to negotiate and sign contracts with employee unions, to adopt a systemwide budget, to adopt a systemwide school reform plan, to determine enrollment patterns across the system, and to assure the continued implementation of desegregation programs operating under a consent decree with the federal government. LSCs must also abide by the terms of all contracts signed by the central administration and within the policies legally established by the senior administration. The role of the central office is to provide information feedback to schools. The central office maintains automated financial systems and provides financial information to school-site personnel. Purchases of supplies and services must be made from a pre-approved list of vendors unless a waiver has been obtained. Any unspent funds at the end of the year are returned to the central administration.

The reform act also created new councils for each administrative district in the city. The councils consist of parent or community representatives from LSCs located in the sub-district, and they choose whether to retain or replace the previous sub-district superintendent. Regional superintendents are facilitators of reform in their area and help coordinate improvement efforts where appropriate. They no longer have authority over principals and other employees.

The district superintendent is supposed to facilitate the training for LSC members, to mediate disputes at the local school, to settle election disputes, and to monitor the establishment and implementation of a school improvement plan at each school in his or her district. If the district superintendent judges that a school is not progressing satisfactorily, he can recommend to the district council that it be put on a remediation plan. If the schools continues not to improve under the remediation plan, the district council can place it on probation, whereupon a board of education improvement plan is established to correct the deficiencies. If no improvement is noted after one year, the board may order new LSC elections, remove and replace the principal, replace the faculty, or close the school.

The subdistrict council also plays a coordinating function for schools in geographical proximity to one another (except for the subdistrict consisting of all the city's high schools). It is composed of one parent or community representative from each school in the district. Each subdistrict council elects representatives to the system-wide board nominating commission.

As might be expected in an environment with a multiplicity of governing and advisory bodies, live has not been completely harmonious. There has been, for example, a significant amount of friction between LSCs and the district superintendent. Many councils view the district's few efforts in the area of training and technical assistance as inadequate, and problems have arisen because of lack of clarity about matters of budget and contracts with employees.

The "Chicago Revolution" has effected a genuine transfer of power (devolution) to the newly created local school councils; parents have placed themselves in the controlling role. Inevitably, some principals have complained that they had to be politicians to please the parent majority on the LSCs. Just as important, the teachers, as members of the school organization, do not appear to be key players except in their role on the Professional Personnel Advisory Committees (curriculum, staff development, school improvement plan and budget). The principal stands alone as accountable to the LSC.

SBM is not always popular among teachers. Many believe that Chicago's decentralized school reforms have failed to bring improvements in student achievement, and an even greater proportion denied that the changes had improved teacher morale. Since teachers and other professional educators did not play a leading role in the reform movement, many do not feel, as yet, any ownership of the system.

The principals have found SBM to be time consuming with less time for supervision and contact with faculty members. Instead their time has been consumed by much public relations work, by being a referee at meetings, and by an increased administrative burden. Yet they had to take final responsibility for all decisions although they did not have all the power. Nevertheless, the attitude of principals has been generally positive. They have more flexibility with funds, do not have to go through layers of bureaucracy, and they can interview for hiring teachers (they did not have to consider seniority). Many now rely on outside technical assistance for curriculum development and other services.

Parents would appear to be maintaining their influence at the school level. Attendance at LSC meetings was about 70 percent for the elementary schools, and 78 percent for the secondary during the first year of SBM. In the two elections since 1988, parent interest and involvement has remained reasonably (for American municipal elections) high. However, the turnout of voters for the 1991 elections was lower than for the 1989 elections, and only time and circumstances will tell if parents are able to retain their dominant position if teachers and principals decide to challenge it.

(f) Quebec

In 1987, Quebec's new Education Act required the formation of Orientation Committees composed of educators, parents, support staff, community members and students. Since parent committees were already in place in most schools, the role of these committees was to advise the Orientation Committee about defining the aims and objectives of the school, promoting participation of the parents in defining, implementing and evaluating the educational plan of the school, and advising the orientation committee or the principal on any matter about which the parents were concerned and on which the committee wished to be consulted (Chalouh 1992[34]). On the Orientation Committee, the parents have representation at least equal to the combined number of other representatives.

According to Chalouh's research, the experiment in Quebec has not been without growing pains. One unintended outcome is the hostility of some teachers to the Orientation Committees. Seeley (1989:46[35], as quoted in Chalouh, p.14) remarks:

School staffs, for their part, often do not see parent involvement as part of their professional role, and indeed, can quite justifiably see it as an interference with the jobs that have been delegated to them.

Conversely, teachers now have a forum in which to air their concerns and suggestions for change. If they can learn to cooperate with parents, it is possible that they can become a power in school improvement. More recently (1989) teacher unions have redefined their stance against the Orientation Committees, and they now urge the teachers to collaborate with parents in order to

make use of them for change (Chalouh, p.14). However, it now appears that the Committees are having difficulty in recruiting parents as members, and in educating committee members. Committees are having problems related to the fact that they have few means of exercising power and a restrictive educational framework to work within.

(g) Edmonton and Langley, B.C.

One of the earliest and best known experiments in SBM began in Edmonton, as system imitated in several other jurisdictions in British Columbia and Alberta. The superintendent, Michael Strembitsky, began the experiment as a pilot project in 1976. Edmonton's schools, unlike those in Chicago, were not in a crisis situation. "Edmonton turned to site-based management out of a belief that running a school system is much like running a large corporation and that decentralizing decision-making authority and initiative is sound management. In Strembitsky's view, participatory management - at both the district and school levels - directly affects the quality of education" (Hill & Bonan:80[36]). Strembitsky sees SBM as a decentralization of a form, not as a formula for autonomy. "[I]t is really a redistribution of the decision-making structure. The centralization of certain tasks is required since there has bot to be some control. It is possible to pick tasks for each [level]" (Strembitsky as quoted in Brown 1990:135[37]).

Each Edmonton school has its own "advisory" or participatory decision making procedures. The principal has the most power at the school level, but s/he is encouraged to seek advice from all those (parents, teachers, senior administrators, etc.) affected by the decisions made. However, the principal is not bound to abide by this advice. The central board office holds the principals accountable for what goes on in the schools (Hill & Bonan:81-82) on a day-to-day level. Each school is required to submit an annual plan "in which they propose innovative programs and solutions to the problems that they are facing. The central office imposes only one constraint on these plans: They must fall within the general site-management framework established by the central office and must not contravene the district's educational goals."

The schools in the Edmonton school district have control over such day-to-day school operations as budgeting, central office services, and personnel. "Schools control 75 percent of the district's operating budget. If a school participates in a program that allows it to control its own building utilities, and if it is able to keep its cost under the amount the central office allows for utilities, it can spend the savings as it chooses. However, if the cost of its utilities exceeds the amount allocated by the central office, the school must come up with the money from elsewhere. If a school opts out of the program, the central office collects any savings and covers any excess costs" (Hill & Bonan:81). The schools also control the hiring of substitute teachers, although the central office has established the policy that substitute teachers must be hired for absences of longer than three days. These expenses are paid out of the district's, not the school's, budget. In an experimental program, the school board has allotted a number of schools an amount of money with which they can purchase services (e.g., a math expert, a school psychologist, a social worker) from private providers. Previously these services were provided free-of-charge by the board. Unused funds at the end of the year can be spent as the school chooses. Schools are responsible for supplies, equipment, personnel, maintenance, utilities, and consultant services (Brown 1990:7).

In the schools the principal is the key administrator. S/he reports only to the area superintendent and to the superintendent (director). The area superintendents' offices are not located in the central school area.

Parents do not have any official governance role at the school level in Edmonton, but they may be elected as trustees of the board. However, principals are encouraged to consult parents groups as part of their decision-making process. The Board makes extensive use of opinion surveys to evaluate and assess how well its schools are performing. "Once it receives the completed surveys, the central office correlates the data and compares them to data from previous years. It then analyzes

all the data school by school and administrator by administrator for indications of potential problem areas in schools and in the district at large. If the survey data reveal potential problems, the area superintendent is responsible for examining the problems and coming up with solutions" (Hill & Bonan:82).

Brown's (1990:259[38]) research in Edmonton showed that the majority of his interviewees believed that under decentralization, the schools were much more responsive than when they were under centralized management. He also concluded that SBM could be a viable avenue for school improvement because of the flexibility it accords schools. However, he also found that SBM does not appear to be a key stimulus for innovation.

According to Brown (p.260), Edmonton principals and teachers generally agree on the strengths and weaknesses of decentralization. The leading strength is local flexibility while the leading weakness is the time requirement. Coleman's (1987[39]) research in British Columbia showed that schools that were already in a participatory mode had little difficulty adapting to SBM. Schools where teachers did not practice collegial decision-making were less successful in implementing SBM. However, Coleman observed that there was an increase in teachers' participation in decision making with SBM, and this resulted in the development of a higher level of awareness and concern for the school as a whole. As one teacher said, SBM "forces everyone to participate; you can't just go into the classroom and close the door on the world." Coleman comments (p.9): "Sentiments like this are characteristic of unusually successful schools ... In the successful SBDM schools, teachers and principals regarded themselves as being collectively responsible for the quality of the school ... This shift in decision-making power seems to produce other changes such as a sense of responsibility for program initiatives, for example. It is recognized that good ideas do not come from the principal alone."

Coleman further found that the changes in the pilot SBM schools in BC were positive in that there was increased participation by teachers in decision-making, and "the apparently linked increase in the sense of teacher efficiency ... Further, the increase in teachers' concern for careful spending, and their increased satisfaction with the resources available, are important developments ... especially in the light of the current economic climate in public education and the certainty of more limited resources in the foreseeable future" (p.10).

On the question of improved student learning, the research is silent. Bonan and Hill do not directly address this question, but they describe a kind of evaluation system in the Edmonton schools: "If students from a particular school were regularly unprepared for the next school, or if a high-level school made demands that students from none of its feeder schools could meet, the assistant [area] superintendent pulled together the affected staffs and brokered discussions. In subsequent years, a school having trouble meeting the standards of others in its feeder pattern would be required to put that issue first among the list of problems to be solved by its site-management team" (p.32).

Has SBM produced any economies? In Edmonton, it does not appear that any levels of administration have been eliminated, nor do researchers report substantial economies. The objective of SBM was not to save money. "School-based management districts do *not* demonstrate a preoccupation with efficiency conceived as cost accounting" (Brown:260). Coleman's study in British Columbia found that spending by the schools was changed from the previous board-influenced priorities. "Since some might believe that SBDM has the potential for cutting costs, it should be emphasized that in the SBDM schools the change was not toward reduced spending but redirected spending. As one teacher explained, `we spend the money much more wisely' and as a consequence `we have more money to buy the things we need'" (p.9). Brown's (1990) research confirmed this finding of increased cost consciousness in school staffs - even to the extent of investigating frequently absent staff members. However, the perception remains that some schools are richer than others (Brown 1990:23).

Edmonton's system of "the money follows the child," or a strict dollar application per student, has been modified to accommodate special needs and small schools. The important point is that the funding given to each school is a lump sum for the schools to spend as they determine (they must, however, abide by the provisions of collective agreements). The system appears to please most principals (in Edmonton and in Langley) since it eliminates "squeaky wheel" budgeting that was formerly the norm, and obliged principals to do considerable lobbying at the central board level.

Brown found (p.263) that there is very little evidence of participatory decision-making in Edmonton, either by parents or teachers. It appears that the amount of participation by teachers depends largely upon the disposition of the principal. The power in Edmonton (and probably in Langley) resides with the school board and the principals.

Discussion

In the seven jurisdictions surveyed, wide divergences appear in (a) the forms that SBM has taken, and (b) reasons for the restructuring. The greatest commonality, as should be expected, is that more decision making power has devolved to the school level, although in Sweden, decentralization has meant that decision making in education, formerly the prerogative of the national government, is now shared by municipal governments. As Winkler (1993:102[40]) has pointed out, "Educational decentralization is in vogue throughout the world, although the policies and practices employed to implement decentralization vary widely across countries ... "

Hanson's (1990[41]) research in the United States (Chicago, Los Angeles and Dade County) and Spain found that the balance of power in the restructured system depended largely on the reason for the restructuring process having been initiated. He found that in Chicago, the decision making responsibility now rests with the LSC which is parent dominated, and indeed, it was a parent revolution that forced the issue. In Dade County, the board administration in conjunction with the teachers' unions wanted a system that would be more "personalized" and less bureaucratized, and the principals, teachers and central administration here hold the most power.

Does Hanson's thesis hold for jurisdictions outside of the United States (and Spain)? In New Zealand, the Treasury Board forced the issue, and although the parents now have considerable power at the school level, the Treasury Board continues to press for more economies and the Department of Education controls policy, the approval of school charters, property and the way in which schools are financed. From the literature, there currently appears to be an equitable sharing of power in New Zealand between the community and the Department of Education.

The Australian situation is less clear. Many Australians were dissatisfied with the outcomes of their education system and they feared for the role of Australia in the post-industrial world. Financial considerations were also a factor, and there is some mention that the media helped fan the flames of discontent. No doubt the vogue for decentralization also played a part. The seven states/ territories are proceeding unevenly towards devolving authority to the school level, but at the same time the national government, which had previously seldom interfered with the states' rights to control education, appears to be taking more interest with the development of national tests. Control still rests with the state governments. Some of the states, for example such geographically large states as Western Australia, have established regional authorities. Some parent-dominated councils seem to have some decision making power, but teacher and parent (in some cases) unrest may, in the long run, force some readjustment in the balance of power.

The Swedish system is also unclear in that the literature reviewed does not reveal the source of the discontent, although it was likely influenced by the world wide trend towards decentralization. The reason for the restructuring process was a desire for more flexibility in the schools and for greater administrative efficiency. It would appear that power has devolved from the central

government to the municipal governments. Although there is some indication that principals may gained more decision making responsibility, parents are only represented by those whom they elect to the municipal government.

In Edmonton, the superintendent initiated the reforms because of his belief that running a school system is much like running a large corporation and that decentralizing decision-making authority and initiative is sound management. The long-time superintendent, Michael Strembitsky, viewed participatory management - at both the district and school levels - as being able to directly affect the quality of education. In this jurisdiction (and in Langley and other smaller British Columbia and Alberta systems), the central administration and the principals control the system. If the principals share a participatory philosophy, and they are strongly encouraged to do so, teachers and/or parents may have a voice.

The success or failure of the Orientation Committees in Quebec have not yet been well described in the English language literature. Chalouh (1992) found that teacher unions had changed their formerly hostile views of the Committees, and had learned to collaborate with parents for change. However, she has not described the actual authority of the Orientation Committee and the way that it fits in with the boards of education.

In Grey County, Ontario, a number of school and community advisory committees have been established by the Grey County Board of Education in an effort to combine participative democracy with the representative democracy of the school board trustees. The Board's strategic plan calls for an "inclusionary" mode of decision making and a clearer perception of the community's expectations for their schools.[42] The advisory committees are composed of the principal, trustees, and community representatives (it is unclear how teachers are represented on these committees), and their assignment is to provide community input to the Board and principal. They do not, however, have any real power, although the current director and chair of the board maintain that their voices will be heard. Authority still rests with the trustees and the board administrators who were the initiators of the system.

But, is decentralization a win/lose situation? Elmore (p.34) has found that "repeated cycles of centralizing and decentralizing reforms in education have had little discernible effect on the efficiency, accountability, or effectiveness of public schools. In many cases it has only been a shifting of power, but as Elmore has pointed out, "the politics of structural reform in education has increasingly become a politics about the authority and legitimacy of various institutional arrangements, disconnected from any serious treatment of whether these arrangements can be expected to have any impact on what students learn in school" (p.39). The main problem in the loose/ tight environment of education is persuading each level of government or power to limit its authority to those levels or areas where it is most competent.

However, these levels of competencies are not necessarily obvious. Common sense (and many proponents of SBM and the professionalization of teachers) tells us that the teacher is best equipped to make decisions about what goes on in the classroom because it is the teacher who is closest and best understands the students' needs. Hannaway (1993:150[43]), however, tells us that teachers working and making decisions in isolation is unwise. A collaborative working relationship at the school level is essential. Her research found that teachers want to participate in curriculum decision making (Conley's 1991[44] review of the research confirms this), but they do not necessarily want to make the decisions. She concludes (p.159):

> The explicit structuring of teachers' interactions around technical demands (issues of curriculum and teaching) appears to be a critical element of successful decentralization. I have argued that technical interactions among teachers form the basis of effective processes of social control, motivation, and learning that are necessary in a well-run decentralized system. In short, what should be obvious is that structural reforms that direct teachers'

attention to their central functions, that stimulate them to interact professionally around defined common objectives, and that give them a sense of the importance of their mission are nearly certain to result in more effective schools than the traditional 'egg-crate' structures do.

She also argues that (p.234) "unless organizational change springs organically from educational leadership at the local level, it will have only a minor impact on instruction and educational improvement. And even if it does emerge locally, it may fail to improve educational outcomes if objectives are not clear and if the technical ability to implement the objectives is not there." Looking at the research as a whole there is no evidence that decentralization to the school level, per se, will lead to improvement in classroom practice and student achievement unless other elements, perhaps such as those described by Hannaway, are present. The unhappy experience in New South Wales where teachers were left out of the restructuring process shows the wisdom of inclusionary politics especially for stakeholders who are critically involved.

In Edmonton and Langley, in those schools where the principal practiced a participatory ethos, teachers appreciated the increased flexibility, efficiency and accountability, and were satisfied with participating in, but not controlling the decisions made (Brown, p.177). The literature to date does not tell us what the teachers in New Zealand are thinking. The principals have largely shielded them from governance turmoil so that students will not be adversely affected. Nor is it known what the effect will be when their schools are permitted to hire uncertified teachers.

Concerning equity in education, the results are mixed. In Edmonton the formula for allocating money has had to be revised to eliminate various disparities, especially for small schools. In Sweden, the national government has left equity issues to local authorities. In New Zealand, however, a commitment was made to educational equity for women, Maori and other disadvantaged groups. An increasingly monetarist government policy appears to have eroded this commitment somewhat, although the Maori people have been able to introduce some of their cultural elements into their schools' curriculum, and one observer found them well represented on school councils.

On the question of parent participation in the governance of the schools, the jurisdictions surveyed form a wide spectrum on the question. In Chicago and New Zealand, the parents, in effect, run the schools. In Dade County and Edmonton, the parents may be surveyed or they may be on an advisory committee, but they have no decision making power. The literature on Dade County is largely silent on the question of parent participation. In Sweden, it appears that parental participation is in the form of electing a municipal government which administers the schools. The situation in Australia is not clear from the literature to date although they appear to be moving toward greater parent participation. The extent of parental power appears to vary. In New Zealand, although there is little summative evaluation, the situation appears to be good in middle class schools where the parents have considerable expertise for business administration and are able to devote large amounts of time to administration, etc. In schools in lower socio-economic districts, the results are mixed or unknown. Carnoy's (1993:175[45]) research found that low- and middle-educated low-income parents are less likely to invest large amounts of time their children's education than are the parents of middle class children. In Chicago, some of the original enthusiasm for parental involvement appears to be wearing off. and in the last elections, some of the schools had difficulty fielding enough candidates. In Edmonton, board surveys show that the parents are pleased with the education that their children are receiving, and that their positive response is greater than the Canadian average on this question.

From all indications, and following the research of Robinson (1994[46]) in Vancouver, Canadian parents wish to be well informed about what goes on in their children's schools, but they do not wish to be a part of the day-to-day decision making process. However, as a corollary, they do not wish to be ignored and have important decisions made without their knowledge. The general feeling in the research is that schools that keep close connections with parents are likely to be

schools where the client base is supportive.

But what of increased economy and efficiency? No one to date has claimed that SBM has saved them money, and the Treasury Board in New Zealand continues to complain about the high of education although New Zealand's education costs are lower than those of many first world countries. Some systems (e.g., Dade County) claim that the same amounts of money are now being spent at the school level. Teachers in Langley and Edmonton believe that the money is now *better* spent because they feel an increased ownership of the funds and therefore it was not in their best interest to spend it unwisely. Edmonton allocates 75 percent of its budget to the schools, and 85 percent is allocated to the schools in Langley. The rest covers the cost of the central administration and any special services (e.g., psychologists, etc.) that it provides. The Edmonton School Board presumably employs fewer administrators at the central level since many of functions are now carried out at the school level, but it still employs assistant superintendents to whom the principals report, and it is difficult to say if the number of administrators has increased or fallen. The literature does not explain if the costs of administration have been lowered. One positive result is the increased flexibility of decision making allowed to schools, a result highly commended by principals and staff.

Do the schools now better understand the needs of their communities? This is one of the main problems that SBM is said to be able to remedy. It would appear that if parents and community members take an active role in the school and are indeed heard, then the school can be responsive to their needs. If the contrary is true, it is possible that a school staff who do not live in the community will not have a deep understanding of the needs and culture of that community. Extensive professional development is required, but if the staff changes frequently, this also can become problematic. Research is as yet vague on this point.

What are the implications for Ontario? Unfortunately, most of the SBM experiments (with the exception of Edmonton) are much too new to determine what the medium to long range problems or successes will be. Some of the experiments are clearly inappropriate for Ontario. Ontario is not in a crisis situation as was evident in Chicago. There, the school board was not elected, but appointed by "City Hall" and the parents had difficulty in making their wishes felt. Segregation/desegregation issues were also an important factor. The radical solution of putting the parents in control have seemed to be the appropriate resolution to the crisis. How parent control of Chicago schools will work out in the long run is unknown. Nor is the situation in New Zealand analogous to that in Ontario. New Zealand has a population of about a third of that of Ontario, and with the exception of the Maori and Polynesian population, the New Zealanders are largely homogeneous. What they wanted to eliminate was an overly bureaucratized and rigid central Department of Education to which one had to apply even to repair a window. Although this was an inconvenience to the schools, the people were generally satisfied with the quality of education, and it was the economists of the Treasury Board, rather than educators, who pushed for reform. To date people appreciate the increased flexibility of SBM, and although there are many complaints, including the heavy work load for the principals, there is as yet no call for a return to the old system. Here again, the system is new and has not yet been comprehensively assessed; how parent control of schools will work out in the long run is, as in Chicago, an unknown factor.

However, learning from the literature, certain pitfalls in adopting SBM can be avoided. For example, in New South Wales and Western Australia, proceeding without the cooperation and collaboration of important stakeholders, such as teachers and parents, caused much opposition to the reforms and embarrassment for the government. Parental and teacher participation will help these groups buy into planned reforms, and tend to make these groups (and any others) more supportive. A frequent complaint heard in New Zealand, Dade County, Edmonton and Langley concerned the heavy additional administrative load that principals and/or teachers were expected to carry. In Chicago, a lack of clarity in the legislation was the reason for many misunderstandings between LSCs and other administrative bodies. Finally, principals and teachers, and, if necessary, parents on school councils, need extensive professional development to prepare them for their new

roles. If principals (and teachers) are expected to act as business executives in addition to their traditional role as instructional leaders, it is not reasonable to expect them to display budgeting and other management skills without intensive training.

From the limited amount of evaluative data in the literature, and this is the biggest problem in trying to determine if some form of SBM would be appropriate for Ontario, it appears that the greatest successes of SBM occur where teachers, principals, and probably parents are actively engaged in policy and curriculum development at the school level where they can see the results and can feel some responsibility for them. However, only more research over the longer term will give us indications as to what works and what does not work.

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